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Adjustment of a Peasant Group.....*E. K. Francis*
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PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE IN LOCAL VALUES OF TWO NEW ENGLAND COMMUNITIES*

by Richard E. Du Wors†

ABSTRACT

Two competing and adjacent communities in Maine were chosen for study because their geography, economics, and population facts were so similar, and because there were rich sources of historical data. The study focused on community wholeness. It is a holistic approach to the community through time. Nine hypotheses and four methodological assumptions were used to limit, organize, analyze, and communicate the data. These hypotheses serve to examine the "principle of first definitions." This principle is that the community as a social system originates in the acceptance by persons of common definitions of recurring life situations. Once this period of acceptance can be identified, the sociologist can study persistence and change as the process of evaluative interaction shows persistence in, or change from, these definitions. In such a study, one must look for the effect of these definitions both as they characterize the community as a whole and as they permeate subsystems of the community.

This is a methodological and substantive report on a study of local values in two New England communities.¹

*Revision of a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wis., September 4, 1951.

† Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

¹ Anders M. Myhrman, Bates College, and Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, helped develop the conceptual approach in Mark Hopkins relationships with the writer. Milton A. Nixon, Portland, Maine, and E. Robert Kinney, Bar Harbor, Maine, aided in the field work. The period 1798-1924 was explored through historical records; the 1938-1949 period, through interviews. Lack of funds prevented studying the 1924-1938 gap and using census data.

A word of explanation may be needed on the gap between the interviewing period, 1938-1949, and the period for which the historical materials were examined, 1798-1924. The interviews, among other experiences, led to formulation of the hypotheses below, but the interviews were not used as data. Verification or rejection of the hypotheses was made on the basis of the historical records alone. Hence the figures from the 1920 census are relevant. The figures from the 1950 census are not.

The data and most of the conceptual thinking for this paper are found in the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Values as an Heuristic Concept in Community Analysis: A Comparative Study," Harvard University, 1949. This study will

Historical records for the period 1798-1924 were examined in great detail—1798 saw the incorporation of the two places as one town; 1924 saw two sets of dramatic events, the genetic explanation of which could test the validity of various hypotheses. One set of events in 1924 was Eastport's three-day celebration of the Fourth of July, while Lubec reported only a supper in the Methodist Church for observance of the day. The other set of events involved Lubec's purchase of sardine canning factories in Eastport. This purchase displaced Eastport as the dominating center of the industry.

These communities are located on the eastern end of the United States-Canadian boundary in sparsely settled Washington County, Maine. Eastport had a population of 4,494 in 1920; Lubec, 3,371. The area which includes the two communities was organized as a town in 1798, although transient fishermen had come to the area for summer fishing long before. In 1811, Lubec separated itself from Eastport,

be further analyzed and reported as part of a project, *American Community Systems*, carried on by Professor Zimmerman and the author. At that time more extensive acknowledgment of help will be made.

because of differences in values—differences which 1939 interviews found still operating.

While other communities on the coast of Maine were considered, these communities were finally chosen for study for three reasons: First, it was desired to make diachronic (genetic) studies of Zimmerman's hypothesis on community personality as set forth in *The Changing Community*.² Second, the facts of ecology, technology, economics, and population were similar for each community. Third, there were rich sources of data in newspaper files, going back to 1819; local histories; diaries; federal records, because of the fisheries; and state, county, and town records. Intermittently from 1938 to 1949, the writer visited, lived, or worked alone or with colleagues in the towns.

Why diachronic studies? Zimmerman's studies and those of Sanders and Ensminger in Chilton County, Alabama,³ showed that the idea of a dominant tradition could be studied. But the questions arose: How traditional is the tradition? How long does it exist? Is it something readily picked up and just as readily dropped? Is it brought to the community? Does it grow out of mutual influencing in the face of like conditions? Or does some traumatic experience give rise to this "dominant tradition"?

The above studies showed that various processes give rise to community individualities. But, because the studies were scattered and community genesis not made systematically central, the criticism could be made that further ecological or economic or tech-

nological data might upset statements about dominant values. What was needed was an opportunity to make a comparative study of two communities where such situational elements were as similar as possible. By driving the study through time, we could examine both "community individualities" and the effects such "individualities" had on their own economic, political, and other behavioral subsystems.

The main conclusions of this paper, then, deal with the nature of the "community." The paper is open to the charge of overgeneralization. Two considerations led to risking the charge: First, the hypotheses were placed within a sociological tradition. The tradition would function as the old Salic law did for a queen—she could not rule in her own right but could act as a "bridge and a plank" to make her first son the legitimate heir to the throne. Second, the situational similarity of each community within referential contexts, other than the sociological one used, made a comparative, genetic study feasible.

It was not only the similarity of the communities that made possible the testing of the hypotheses, but similar problems or situations, specified below, also were searched for and discovered in order to study the communities' response to specified stimuli.

HYPOTHESES AND ASSUMPTIONS

Nine hypotheses on social origins, persistence, and change, and four methodological assumptions were employed. The nine hypotheses were:

(1) Social change and social persistence are best understood in terms of social values.

(Hypotheses 2, 3, and 4 spell out what might be called "the principle of first definitions.")

(2) The community originates in the common acceptance of like definitions (values) of recurring life situations.

²Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1938).

³Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, *Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County*, bulletin published by Alabama College, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (July, 1940).

(3) Social continuity is given by the persistence and development of these definitions.

(4) The very persistence of social values that gives social continuity may also, in specific instances, lead to social change. In this instance change comes about when a community persists in its ways until it "exceeds the limits of tolerance"⁴ of other systems—physical, technological, political, legal, etc.

(5) These values are operating realities. (This statement is emphasized in the face of a tradition which would insist such values are stereotypes.)

(6) Social values have both diffused characteristics, i.e., confined to no one social subsystem or institution within the concrete community but permeating them all; and they have focal points peculiar to each community.

(7) Integration of a community value system is bound up both in the distribution and the content of the values.

(8) Historical event is the efficient cause of social change when such events:

- (a) Affect values by serving as objects of redefinition.
- (b) Appear as new objects of evaluation.
- (c) Exhaust means independently of the behaviors set up by prevailing values.
- (d) Lead to new evaluations of old means.
- (e) Supply new means to implement or extend old values.

(9) Such historical events also contribute to social persistence when they supply new means to maintain old values.

The methodological and procedural problems that arose with these hy-

potheses involve, of course, the hypotheses, the data, and the mode of study. The most fundamental assumptions made were:

(1) That genetic study would be most fruitful.

(2) That those events in records which had survived fire, flood, and neglect were not merely beads on a chronological string. They represented a continual process, evaluative interaction, at work.

(3) That the abstract concept of evaluative interaction going on in any social relationships was given specific and differential cognitive and affective content by local values.

(4) That statements of persistence and change had to be tied to each other and to specific event through logico-meaningful construction.⁵ The statements were then to be verified in terms of observable behavior.

The manner of setting up these statements for verification or rejection makes it clear that this is no straight historical study, i.e., a recording of anything and everything that happened through time in the areas named Eastport and Lubec. Insofar as possible, all data were examined; but data not relevant to the hypotheses or to alternative explanations were winnowed out. However, anything relevant was kept, whether or not it bore out the hypotheses.

Once the genetic approach had been adopted, it then seemed that the best way to examine the conceptions was to search for data on two main points:

(1) the existence, or lack of it, of values or clusters of values which fitted the local description of such values, given below; (2) the functioning of

⁴ The expression as used here is Zimmerman's.

⁵ See Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Co., 1937), Vol. I, p. 32.

those values in situations or problems which were:

- (a) Similar and reappearing through time, and which either town could meet without reference to the other.
- (b) Similar for both towns and a solution by one bore on the other's attempt at solution.

WHY THESE HYPOTHESES WERE ACCEPTED FOR STUDY

Some of these hypotheses were set up early, and some, such as "the principle of first definitions," are still being explored. Nor are they all original with this study. Since one cannot give all the negative instances, a recapitulation on how the hypotheses were adopted may be illuminating.

The researchers were led to these various propositions through two routes. First, by the local people themselves. Interestingly enough, their original statements were disregarded by the first research group. The search at that stage was for positive facts of economics, geography, or technology to explain the end results that could be seen, the data of present perception—differences in sights, sounds, and smells to begin with, then other differences as learned. Lubec, for example, controlled the six-million-dollar Maine sardine industry; Lubec people owned three out of four sardine factories in Eastport (the fourth was owned by a Machiasport family); they also owned the fish meal factory in Eastport and the ferry between the towns. Moreover, Lubec owned its electric and water works, had a surplus in the treasury, and used only one-tenth of the amount Eastport did for W.P.A. Yet Eastport was larger and seemed wealthier with its big houses, brick high school, brick library, and brick city hall. Lubec had no library, a tiny town office, and a ramshackle high school. But Eastport

was in the hands of the state. Local residents interviewed thought that there was no mystery to it: Eastport, they said, is a *sporty town* and Lubec a *thrifty town*.

The research group felt the notion an interesting stereotype, but too vague to explain such visibly significant differences. It was only during the second summer's work, in 1939, when Professor Anders Myhrman called attention to the relevancy of *The Changing Community* for these problems, that it was realized the local people might have an explanation which should be investigated.

The appearance of Zimmerman's work opened the second route of investigation. A search for antecedents of his work was begun. This was done both to place the study in its proper sociological tradition and to sharpen awareness of implications this line of thinking might have. The men found most directly related to this line of thought were Spencer, Cooley, Thomas, Thompson, and Sorokin.⁶ Re-reading in and about Durkheim and Znaniecki later led to making some statements more explicit for this paper.⁷ Parsons was useful in meeting some of the methodological problems⁸ and in his emphasis on the heuristic worth of the "small."⁹

The local sporty-thrifty statements were restated as follows: Eastport values emphasized consumptive spending;

⁶ See Du Wors, *op. cit.*, chap. 1, sec. 2, "Precedents for the Hypothesis," pp. 7-20.

⁷ See especially Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology* (New York: Farrar & Rhinehart Co., 1934), and Harry Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

⁸ See Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), p. 603, for his definition of hypothesis.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Lubec values emphasized saving and profit-producing capital investments.¹⁰ Eastport's reputation was shown to have long historical existence. The writings of Weston (1834), Sabine (1848), and Kilby (1888) constantly refer to the reputation of Eastport as being gay, cultured, etc.¹¹ Letters of visitors, one as early as 1827, use a similar vocabulary or even stronger descriptions of these local values.

Lubec's reputation was found directly stated in written records less often; but from internal evidence of the materials and from records of behavior, reason for the thrifty reputation was shown to exist.

As the study proceeded, there was a constant search for, and examination of, other hypotheses.¹² Space prevents repeating them here, but their elimination forced acceptance of the first proposition, from which all the others stem.

¹⁰ Fourteen years after first hearing these sporty-thrifty statements, the writer still finds it difficult to phrase them adequately. At best, Eastport's constellation of dominant values included a high respect for the fine arts and learning. The community has turned out, and still does, regionally and nationally recognized historians, artists, and writers. At worst, the community values involved an irresponsible hedonism.

Lubec's values, at best, included a high sense of responsibility for community and financial stability. At worst, these values involved a narrowness identified with Puritanism in popular thinking.

The hypothesis that local communities turn out people successful in particular activities needs systematic study. Parsons' statements about economic activity not proceeding at random should be extended, if empirically justifiable, to artistic, scientific, religious, and other social behaviors.

¹¹ William Henry Kilby, *Eastport and Passamaquoddy* (Eastport, Maine: Edward E. Shead & Co., 1888). The book is made up chiefly of the writings on Eastport by Weston, Sabine, and Kilby.

¹² Du Wors, *op. cit.*, "Other Hypotheses on Eastport and Lubec," pp. 62 f.

DEVELOPING THE HYPOTHESES

When other hypotheses advanced to explain the local situation were exhausted, the first general hypothesis remained: Social change and social persistence can be best understood by focusing attention on the analysis of social values. This seemed the only statement of "sufficient reason" left to explain the data. This might be called a summary hypothesis. The others are used chiefly to analyze it and make it more specific.

The "community" originates in the common acceptance of like definitions of recurring life situations. This acceptance of like definitions gives a certain uniqueness, a separateness, a "personality," that marks a community as one and not another. It is the building up of these definitions that gives "individuality" to a social system, a community. Such definitions could be located early in the history of these communities. At first legally one, they split by 1811 as their different definitions toward church, school, and town monies forced explicit differences in action.

The period 1807-1814 saw Eastport as the center of smuggling activities that grew out of the Embargo Acts and the War of 1812. This was a boom, easy-money period. It was followed by the occupancy of the British, from 1814 to 1818. At this time Lubec, on the mainland, was "sealed off" from Eastport, on Moose Island. The early historians appear to support the writer's inferences, from a reading of the source materials, that the patterns of consumption characterizing Eastport were set by the British Army officers during the occupancy. The period, 1807-1818, then, saw values arise that further emphasized the earlier value differentiations between the two towns. This period saw the unmistakable emergence and dominance of "first definitions."

The third hypothesis follows from the first and second: Social continuity is given by the persistence of these definitions. One may consider instead the Marxian "modes of production" or Sumner's "life condition" so often advanced as the source of social continuity or social change. Eastport changed from fishing and trading to fishing, smuggling, and trading. The next period saw fishing and trading as the chief modes of production. Then came fishing and trading and some light manufacturing. Lubec went through similar changes. By 1880, sardine canning, with some manufacturing and small retail trade, had come finally to dominate both towns. By 1924, sardines, tourists, and retail trade alone were of any economic importance in either town. War, peace, depression, fires, tidal waves, and hurricanes hit the communities. Changes in political parties were made. But the visitor of 1827, who wrote a letter describing Eastport as both cultured and sporty, would have recognized the local values of Eastport at any time he might have been there, from 1827 to 1924 or 1939. The differences between Eastport and Lubec in regard to libraries, attitudes toward liquor, Fourth-of-July celebration, town administration, debt, and appropriations; Eastport's eagerness for a new service such as gas or electricity or snow removal at public expense, or new artifacts such as permanent sidewalks, radios, or autos; and the resistance to them by Lubec—all reveal an underlying process working throughout the periods of change in other aspects of community behavior or experience.

Change and continuity are allied. In a social system they are allied through the operation of social values. Nowhere is this seen better than when the very persistence of a value evokes change, as the fourth hypothesis states. Eastport persisted over generations in ways of handling appropriations and

debt. When the city exhausted the limits of tolerance of debtors and wider political and juridical systems, local self-government was lost. Both the reputation of the town and the chances for its members to get local prestige, income, and power from local governing activities were impaired.

The fifth hypothesis was stated explicitly for the sake of clarity. It should be clear now why these values were posited as operating realities. Proof of erroneous stereotypes of Yankees, Jews, Irish, Negroes, and hillbillies does not lead to the conclusion that no groups or social systems can be characterized by a single meaningful statement or group of statements.

The functioning of these values as meaningful in predefining and, therefore, predicting behavior is strikingly evident in all the data presented. Lubec could not maintain a Fourth-of-July celebration. In Eastport, even when no Fourth was planned in 1917, crowds showed up. Eastport's way of handling its debt and Lubec's managing of its debt run back at least eighty years. Lubec's reaction to debt was to pay it off as soon as possible. Eastport, as the data show, would refund and refund, even in prosperous times, in order to postpone cutting down its self-labeled luxuries.

Values affect, and effect, then, social change by acting as rejection-selection standards for choosing among possible modes of behavior. They act as the final causes of behavior, in Aristotelian terms, by supplying the ends toward which behavior is directed. They also act as formal causes, by ruling on the forms of behavior acceptable for achieving those ends. Lubec's rejection of the Fourth-of-July celebration as a means of increasing sales for its retail stores illustrates the proposition. On the positive side, the establishment and reestablishment of bands, city clubs, country clubs, libraries, lycea, etc., in Eastport show selection of these

modes of action rather than others as the consumers of time, money, and energy.

Admitting that some group characterizations are false, one has also to account for the persistence of such ideas for at least these two communities. After accepting the hypothesis for investigation and collecting the relevant data, one must conclude that these self-definitions by the communities are not stereotypes. They are grounded in the reality of concrete fact, episode, event, and process.

These local values were the key to understanding the communities, inasmuch as the communities were independent realities. A consideration of them led to the sixth hypothesis—that such values have focal points and characteristic diffuseness. Both the focal and the diffused values served to place a man in the Eastport or the Lubec community. They also served to delimit the area of each community.

The focal points were found to involve (1) problems or situations common to those calling themselves, or legally considered as, Eastporters or Lubecers; (2) place sentiments peculiar to members of one community and not another; (3) values assigning status in one community while making a non-member at best a "stranger" in the other.

The diffuse nature of local values was shown in the data on liquor and on town appropriations, town services, Fourth-of-July celebrations, Memorial Day, etc. This diffuseness of values was such that the towns—the sporty town's and the thrifty town's—reactions toward these specific issues could be predicted in light of these generalized value characteristics.

The seventh hypothesis on these values pointed out the double meaning of "integration." A community, as such, will be oriented toward a common set of values. If, among those values, there is a high value on working to-

gether—i.e., using coordinated means to achieve coordinated ends—then from the viewpoint of an administrator, or this study, the community is integrated.

But "integration" must be seen in the light of other possibilities. If highly "individualistic" values dominate the community, they will lead to an "enforced individualism." Then, while still integrated in terms of common evaluation of ends and means, if such evaluations are not coordinated (structured with reference to one another), the community lacks administrative integration.

Or different stimuli may lead to different reactions toward "administratively integrated" action. Lubec refused to try to get the railroad there. Local people still say the refusal was due to a fear that the railroad would bring in new values, new ideas. Eastport favored the railroad for that very reason. Lubec, on the other hand, raised the money for its own water and electric works, then managed them.

The specific content of values, their distribution, and the type of stimuli are all-important in making statements about "integration."

The study showed clearly the origin and persistence of these local values through history. It showed that these New England communities have social relations and values which have "shaken down" to give value-defined spatial limits to the community; that community members are highly conscious of local values; and that they have correct cognition concerning the possible effects and meanings of the values. It is worth stressing that both the Eastport-Lubec community self-concepts and a local Eastport-lead-Lubec-lag hypothesis were verified.

Perhaps not so clearly recognized by members of a community is the compulsiveness of social values. Use makes values seem "natural" and pre-

cludes alternatives. Administrators, such as the mayor of Eastport who wanted to cut out the expense of ringing the town bell, had to learn this. Administrative attempts to "go contrary to" local values are vividly recorded in the histories of the communities. In all probability, payment of debt in Lubec was as routine as refunding debt in Eastport. The channels of use and wont make a smooth way even as their sidewalls confine behavior.

After the origin and persistence of a community in terms of values had been considered, the relationship of the social system to events occurring outside it was taken up. The relationship of persisting means and persisting values seems self-evident. The principal focus of attention, therefore, was on changes.

The consideration of changes in terms of a genetic (historic) approach requires a hypothesis tying up historical event and whatever genetic process is considered at work. The embryology of chickens demands, on one hand, that the emergence from the shell be explained by the same process which led up to the emergence. On the other hand, an event taken in terms of a different frame of reference—dropping the egg before hatching, for example—must be shown to have consequences for the process used to explain the emergence. The second event will not only be nonpredictable but also not meaningful in terms of the first until its consequences for the first process are explained by reference to that process.

It was necessary to relate specific historical event and evaluative interaction. The eighth hypothesis was formulated for this purpose.¹³ Physical events—such as fire, flood, and hur-

ricane; changes in markets caused by changes outside the community; changes in technology, such as that which made canning sardines possible—were all related to the communities, logically and meaningfully, in the terms of that hypothesis.

Although some events may constitute a radical change from the point of view of the system in which they happen, still, as the ninth hypothesis held, they may aid in the continuance of prevailing values. The most important economic event in the history of both communities after 1818 was the coming of the sardine industry in 1875-1880. Yet this radical change to a canning economy merely provided the means to retain previously held values.

These historical events can range from the "fortuitous" appearance of an unusually able man to events of war, peace, depression, and boom, and similar occurrences of regional, sectional, or world origin. In this research the local values and their meanings for the histories of these communities were emphasized. But at no time were the communities considered as anthropological groups isolated from Western civilization. These local values are real. They can be studied, just as the local whirlpools can be studied as phenomena occurring in a wider bay and ocean. The whirlpools are terminal events of processes world-wide, universe-wide, in origin. Similarly, these communities were considered as terminals for processes begun far beyond them.

The sardine industry, for example, was established by New York people because they had lost supplies of imported sardines during the Franco-Prussian War. Once the connection is made between sardines and that war, one can turn to the local communities to see what happened there.

¹³ See (8) under "Hypotheses and Assumptions."

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The methods applied in any study must vary as the empirical data sought or available influence research decisions. Clearly, a history of the Trobriand Islanders cannot rely on written records. On the other hand, written historical records, once obtained involve all the problems historiographers, demographers, and other students of written records have had to consider. But the only methods for studying persistence and change seemed to be either cross-section studies at two points in time or a genetic study. The genetic study was decided upon and this meant accepting the difficulties of historical materials.

Historical materials are rough, episodic, and fragmentary. The usual procedure has been to arrange them by "subjects" and in a time-place framework. Because of the "bias toward contemporaneity" of sociologists, such materials and their treatment have been glaringly conspicuous by their absence in recent sociological literature.¹⁴ In an emphasis on "processes" or forms, after Simmel, Park, and Burgess, for example, a conflict today is as "good" as a conflict a hundred years ago. The stimulation to new ideas, the perspective, the hard-thinking in filling out the gaps—all have been neglected by sociologists in America.¹⁵ If this attitude toward greater historical materials and problems exists among sociologists, local history as such has been even more neglected. But the "small" has great significance if put in

the proper setting, as Darwin,¹⁶ Parsons,¹⁷ and others have pointed out.

The attempt here has been to see history as an expression of a continual process, evaluative interaction. The scattered records then become an advantage. The records are random samplings in two senses—in that they are chance survivals of fire, flood, and neglect, and also in the sense that no one systematically saved only those related to some one frame of reference. If they can be logically and meaningfully united, they would seem to show the process of evaluative interaction at work over long stretches of time. It is this process of evaluative interaction that gives rise to local definitions of recurring life situations, and so to the local characterizations which become established both among members and nonmembers of the communities.

The most vexing problem about these local characterizations is the suspicion that they are stereotypes. One reason for a search of writings antecedent to Zimmerman in the sociological literature was to see if such characterization of communities had been advanced by other sociologists. This would not be proof, but would tie the study into previous work. It would also narrow the possibility of some local delusion, i.e., verbal statements that could be ignored in dealing with the communities.

Antecedents having been found, it was decided that the best way to check the accuracy of such local statements was to:

- (1) Interview all orders of participants.
- (2) Investigate the acceptance or rejection of characterizations by members of the communities.

¹⁴ See Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1950), p. 186. The present study agrees and disagrees at many points with Professor Becker.

¹⁵ Sorokin and Zimmerman are notable exceptions. For comment on the need for genetic studies in sociology, see Howard W. Odum, *American Sociology* (New York, Toronto, and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951), pp. 295 ff.

¹⁶ Charles A. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1876), p. 365.

¹⁷ Parsons, *loc. cit.*

- (3) Undertake a prolonged study of recorded data.

Data recorded without reference to such characterizations were thought especially valuable for checking them. That is, the recordings of the numbers of hens or taxes or holiday celebrations were not done originally to prove or disprove such a concept.

But how were the data explored? The first step in this project, before historical data or any other data were gathered, was that of simply walking about the towns and looking at them. Visual differences between these two towns were striking. To use Sorokin's terminology,¹⁸ these "vehicles" of churches, libraries, post offices, stores, etc., expressed some sort of differences between the two communities. The data showed that these differences were only in part those of economic function. The desire of Eastport to be "up-to-date" has expressed itself in periods even when the "means" were limited by depression. Lubec never felt such a goal to be a value to the extent that money, especially public money, should be spent to attain that goal. Eastport, then, had a more modern look than Lubec, as a tourist-author observed in 1924.

The meaning of the physical stimuli of differences in sights, sounds, and smells to the investigator led to unstructured interviews in the communities. These interviews focused on the question, "How do you explain the differences between Eastport and Lubec?" Residents of all ranges of education and travel experience—salesmen, teachers from the outside, clergymen—were interviewed. With but two exceptions, they all advanced the local sporty-thrifty statements. It was decided that the best way to examine this conception was to look back

through newspapers, and town, county, state, and federal reports for information showing the existence (or lack) of values in two types of situations or problems: (1) where both towns had similar problems, but either one could "solve" them without reference to the other, and (2) where both towns had the same problems at the same time and a solution by one bore directly on the other's attempt at solution.

One matter of interest was the recurring problem of town finances. Town services and debt-handling were among the general categories investigated under town finances.¹⁹ It was found that Eastport had more categories of appropriations, more services (from "ringing the bell" to "shoveling the sidewalks") than Lubec until nearly the end of the period studied, 1798 to 1924. Debt management has already been discussed.

Different reactions to like stimuli were seen in the celebration of Memorial Day. At various times both towns appropriated public money for the observance of this holiday—Eastport \$100 in 1887, for example, and Lubec \$25 in 1904. The very triviality of the amounts precludes cost in itself as an argument to explain Lubec's appropriation being only one-fourth that of Eastport. Similarly, some sixteen items were found for which one town appropriated money before the other. Eastport appropriated funds for twelve of them before Lubec. As would be expected, since it was the thrifty and practical town, Lubec appropriated money for a domestic science teacher, but not a music teacher; Eastport em-

¹⁸ See Du Wors, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-32 and pp. 37-39.

¹⁹ The whole matter of community finances as a source of understanding of community behavior needs exploring. Zimmerman made a start in *The Changing Community*. The Le Play approach to the family is profitable when used in the community. (See Du Wors, *op. cit.*, chaps. 9, 10, and 11. Other papers on this subject are being prepared by the writer.)

ployed a music teacher, but not a domestic science teacher.

The arguments advanced on supplying electricity and water reveal the differences between the communities and the persistent likeness within each. Lubec argued that (1) the money for such projects should be raised at home by selling public bonds to private investors in Lubec and Whiting (the site of the dam to be built), and (2) the profits from the enterprises should also be kept at home. Lubec then set up the projects and managed them. Eastport subsidized private gas, electric, and water companies out of tax funds; but would not itself set up and manage such services.

Similar arguments were used in relation to another problem each had: to supply year-round employment. Eastport would spend public monies to get private firms to locate there. Public funds were invested in hotel and railroad projects. Lubec spent almost nothing for such projects and would invest only when public funds were accompanied by public management. Moreover, Lubec hung on to a winter smoked-herring trade which Eastport once dominated.

The Fourth of July represented (1) a stimulus from national sources common to both towns; (2) competition for retail trade; (3) an expression of life values in the towns. The published arguments in both towns for celebration of the day were that the celebration would attract trade. But the local values were decisive. The occasional attempt of Lubec failed because the liquor and freeing of convention attendant on the celebration "went against the grain" of the Lubec value system. The report on Lubec's biggest Fourth, with town money appropriated for it, comments only that there was too much liquor in the town

"the night before." The Mardi-Gras type of celebration remained peculiar to Eastport. The 1924 celebration was a high point—it lasted from Thursday night through Saturday night, and it was "a sporty occasion."

Sardines, trade, and the railroad represent "either/or" situations. If either town obtained dominance in control, then the other town could not. Of course degrees of dominance are possible, but in fact these three foci of competition led to the clear dominance of one or the other. The data available show that Eastport has held a definite edge in trade, and the railroad is there. Lubec got full control of the sardine business, the important industry, in 1924. Eastport had no savings from which to buy the properties.

These recorded continuities and changes, these likenesses and differences, are expressions of the basic referent in this sociological study of change and persistence—the process of evaluative interaction.²⁰ The concept *evaluative interaction* is related to the general concept *social interaction*, to Cooley's "valuation process," to Sorokin's "meaningful interaction," and to Parsons' emphasis on "norm-oriented behavior" as the object of sociological study. From the point of view of these concepts, any genetic hypotheses developed must be stated in terms of this process. The present study has examined the heuristic worth of some possible genetic hypotheses. Now, of course, further studies are needed, both in communities operating in conscious recognition of historical pasts and in communities without such consciousness.

²⁰ See Richard E. Du Wors, "The Markets and the Mores: Economics and Sociology," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Dec., 1948), p. 128.

THE ADJUSTMENT OF A PEASANT GROUP TO A CAPITALISTIC ECONOMY: THE MANITOBA MENNONITES*

by E. K. Francis†

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the question whether the adjustment of ethnic groups is necessarily through acculturation and increasing conformity, and whether the process will always result in the destruction of the ethnic group as a functioning social subsystem within the larger society. Changes in the behavior of the Mennonite group in Manitoba over a period of seventy years are analyzed as a test case. Ideal types for the parent and host societies are formulated. The early history and recent trends in the Mennonite colonies are described, and Dawson's 1932 conclusions about the acculturation of the Canadian Mennonites are reconsidered.

The hypothesis that an ethnic group, particularly a rural group, will necessarily be absorbed by the larger society when forced to adjust itself to the capitalistic economy of the larger society is rejected. It is concluded that adjustment is highly selective, and that, by developing new behavior patterns and institutions unlike those of either the parent or host culture, an ethnic group may be able to prevent assimilation and continue to function as a distinctive social subsystem.

ADJUSTMENT VERSUS ASSIMILATION

In applying the concept of social adjustment to ethnic groups, we frequently fail to recognize that adjustment to a definite political ideology may be implied. In the United States in particular, the notion of adjustment insinuates, oftentimes, that ethnic groups will tend to conform more and more to the American society at large, and that, in the long run, individual members of ethnic groups will inevitably be absorbed into the melting pot.

Economic factors are usually assumed to play a decisive role in this process. The struggle for survival compels the ethnic to participate in the economy of the host society even before he participates in other spheres of its social life. Moreover, this enforced participation in the economy leads to a weakening of the ethnic social heritage which ultimately will be replaced by values of the host culture.

In an objective study the sociologist cannot permit himself to value-judge political ideologies. Instead, the question which must interest the sociologist is not whether assimilation is desirable, but whether adjustment is by necessity made through acculturation and increasing conformity, and whether this process will always result in the destruction of the ethnic group as a functioning social subsystem within the larger American society.¹

*Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society at Madison, Wisconsin, September 2, 1951. The data and findings presented are based on a research project undertaken by the author, during the period 1945-47, under the sponsorship of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada. The Society has graciously authorized the publication of this article. A full report probably will be published by the Toronto University Press under the title *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba*. The author is greatly indebted to Mr. Louis P. Carney for having spent much time and effort in preparing this paper for publication.

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¹ The choice of a Canadian ethnic group as a test case hardly requires an apology, for the economic system of Canada is sufficiently similar to that of the United States to permit comparison. Whenever the word "American" occurs in the following, it refers to that which is common to both Canada and the United States.

In this paper certain changes in the behavior of the Mennonite group in Manitoba, over a period of seventy years following their immigration, will be analyzed in order to determine: (1) which of these changes can be considered a direct result of the impact of Canada's economic system upon the Mennonite group, (2) to what extent the Mennonites have conformed to the socio-economic pattern of the larger society, and (3) whether social change has led to the disorganization of the Mennonite group as a functioning social subsystem and to the assimilation of its members into Canada's Anglo-Saxon society. This attempt requires, first of all, a generalized description of the social heritage of the Mennonites at the time of their immigration. On the other hand, it likewise requires a description of the socio-economic system of America's large society. This description will be presented in terms of ideal types.

PARENT SOCIETY AND HOST SOCIETY COMPARED

The ideal type which seems best to fit the case of the Russian Mennonites—the parent society of the Manitoba group of Mennonites—is the peasant group. As Robert Redfield has pointed out, peasant communities resemble folk societies rather closely.² It must not be overlooked, however, that there is a significant difference between peasant groups and the primitive societies which have served the anthropologist in his formulation of the ideal type of a folk society. It is true, of course, that, on a local and sometimes even on a regional level, peasant communities function very much like isolated folk groups. Nevertheless, unlike most preliterate tribes, peasant

communities are always organized with reference to a more inclusive and complex "larger" society. While economic self-sufficiency is typical of folk societies, the subsistence of a peasant village depends upon the exchange of goods and services with the rest of the larger society; accordingly, the economic behavior of peasant groups will, in part at least, be a function of the economic system of the larger society.³ On the other hand, the culture of a peasant community is always to some extent distinct from the subcultures of other components of the society, regardless of whether or not the peasant community is ethnically different.

The term "peasant" as used in this context refers to the Hesiodic type of agriculturalist as described by Carle C. Zimmerman.⁴ The peasant conceives of farming as a way of life. He is a conserver of the soil. His ideas of wealth and well-being cannot be expressed in terms of profit, capital, personal comfort, or conspicuous consumption.⁵ He draws his satisfaction rather from work done well, from the improvement and increase of his holdings and herds, and from the knowledge of having provided for future generations. Frugality and hard work are considered great virtues. The basic socio-economic unit is the family farm. Close habitat in villages is the rule. Cooperation with neighbors and mutual aid are stressed. Social organization is based on primary group relations; it is stable, localistic, and gov-

² Cf. Carle C. Zimmerman, *Outline of Cultural Rural Sociology* (Cambridge, 1948; mimeographed), Appendix VIII.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78 f.

⁴ The negative value given to conspicuous consumption by Old World rural immigrants is demonstrated, for instance, in E. T. Hiller's study of a Frisian community: E. T. Hiller, F. E. Corner, and W. L. East, *Rural Community Types* (University of Illinois Studies in Social Sciences, Vol. XVI, 1928).

⁵ Introduction to Horace Miner, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago, 1939), p. xiii; see also his article, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1947), pp. 293-308.

erned by tradition and group-centered values.

Within the allotted space it would be difficult to formulate a corresponding ideal type for America's larger society, because of its great complexity—which is its main sociological characteristic. The task can be made easier, however, if attention is focused upon agriculture alone. Following Zimmerman,⁶ one may describe Western Canadian agriculture (before the Depression) as a part of the American system of agrarian export capitalism, characterized by production for world markets, cash crops, extensive use of credit, exploitation of resources, and utilization of technical inventions. Farming is here apprehended as business and occupation. Mobility and communication tend to exert a leveling influence and to eradicate differences between the various components of the society, so that the culture of rural areas follows the example of urban (mainly commercial-industrial) classes with their individualistic, rational, secular, and dynamic business civilization.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES IN MANITOBA

Between 1874 and 1879, about 7,500 Mennonites emigrated from the Russian Ukraine to Manitoba, where they occupied two tracts of virgin land. For a period of about ten years, the immigrants managed their own affairs without any outside interference. They organized two colonies, called East Reserve and West Reserve, following (with only minor modifications) the pattern of their Old World settlements. These conformed to what Köttschke has called "die Gemeinschaftsform der Siedlung" (the solidaristic type of settlement).⁷ Physically, a Mennonite village consisted of a site for houses

and farm buildings, and a given area of land. The land was divided into collectively managed pasture, hay, and woodlands, and into several open fields in which each farmer cultivated his own strips individually. Sociologically, the village was a self-governing and self-sufficient community which was largely closed against the outside world.⁸

During the pioneer stage, which lasted until about 1884, interaction with the larger society was limited to the purchase of capital goods and food (apart from official business with the government). Monies accrued from sale of property in Russia, from loans (granted mainly by the Dominion government and by Ontario Mennonites), and from outside income earned in construction work and the like. Most of the commercial and financial transactions were handled collectively by the group, but with the aim of making the family farm self-supporting. This was largely accomplished and subsistence farming had become the solid basis of Mennonite economy when the group was brought into closer contact with Manitoba's larger society, which, by then, had developed a capitalistic system of agriculture. The following period of forty years is characterized by the transformation of Mennonite economy from subsistence farming to commercial farming with spring wheat as the principal cash crop.

FROM SUBSISTENCE TO COMMERCIAL FARMING

All available evidence seems to indicate that the adoption of capitalistic farm practices as such was not opposed by the group which, at the same time, vigorously resisted other changes in the traditional way of life—above all urbanization and the abolition of the

⁶ Op. cit., Sec. IV-A.

⁷ R. Köttschke and W. Ebert, *Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* (Leipzig, 1937).

⁸ For further details see E. K. Francis, "Mennonite Institutions in Early Manitoba: A Study of Their Origins," *Agricultural History*, XXII (July, 1948), pp. 144-155.

open-field village. Commercial farming and the adoption of the Canadian-American type of scattered homesteads, however, were not directly connected with each other; this can be seen from the example of one subgroup among the Manitoba Mennonites. This particular group succeeded in retaining the solidaristic type of settlement until their emigration in the 1920's, while at the same time producing extensively for capitalistic markets. The acceptance or rejection of capitalistic farm practices was in part simply a result of the topography. While the West Reserve included excellent prairie soil, the East Reserve consisted of broken country with much submarginal land. In the latter area, subsistence farming prevailed throughout the period under discussion.

Yet social factors, too, were responsible for the selectivity in the process of economic acculturation. In the purchase of farm machinery, for instance, greater efficiency alone was not a valid criterion of whether or not a new implement was acceptable. Mennonite mores insisted not only upon a frugal mode of life, but also set definite standards as to the amount of human effort to be expended by a farmer and his family. Machines which only increased personal comfort or which reduced labor, without at the same time increasing output and profit, were thus frowned upon. Similar social controls were applied to installment buying, to the purchase of land and livestock on credit, and to the overexpansion of individual holdings.

The seeming inconsistency between tenacious adherence to tradition on the one hand, and the readiness and even eagerness to make adjustments to production for capitalistic markets and to technological progress, on the other, will be better understood if one realizes that the value systems of most societies are far less monolithic than is frequently thought. As Florence

Kluckhohn has pointed out,⁹ not all value orientations which seem to contradict each other within a cultural context can be interpreted as deviations threatening the integration of the social system. It is, for instance, quite possible for individual achievement to be emphasized in the economic sphere while group-centered values, aiming at the perpetuation and integrity of the group, remain paramount in the total cultural profile. The Mennonites considered actions threatening the solidaristic type of settlement as objectionable because the traditional village organization was conceived as essential for the maintenance of the group, even though it had definite economic disadvantages under Canadian conditions. The cultivation of cash crops and the use of more efficient machinery did not have similar social implications. On the contrary, everything which increased the material gain of individuals in competition with outgroup members was welcome, because the advancement of each member of the group appeared to contribute to the welfare of the group as a whole. Economic action among group members, however, was largely oriented according to group-centered, and in part non-economic, values.

ACCULTURATION IN A CRISIS

Between 1923 and 1930, a major shift occurred in Manitoba's Mennonite population, when its most conservative elements emigrated to Latin America and were replaced by refugees from Soviet Russia. Most of the new immigrants had either been well-to-do farmers or had belonged to urban classes, although Canada's immigration policy forced all of them to settle

⁹ "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," *Social Forces*, XXVIII (May, 1950), pp. 376-393.

on farms scattered throughout the province. While it is not possible to discuss here all of the social and economic implications of this regroupment, its net effect was a further weakening of group coherence and of surviving peasant institutions, and a further increase in readiness for acculturation and for making full use of the economic opportunities of a capitalistic system. Commercial farming became the general rule, except in the East Reserve where soil conditions retarded progress.

In 1932, after surveying the West Reserve, Dawson came to the conclusion that the "final absorption of the Mennonite settlements in the general stream of Canadian life"¹⁰ was a foregone conclusion. While he noticed that "the process of absorption . . . is one of the whole Mennonite community rather than of individual Mennonites,"¹¹ he failed to see the significance of this difference, apparently believing that acculturation is always a sign of assimilation. In reality, acculturation may frequently be a device by which the group, as a group, adjusts itself to the larger society so that both conflict and absorption are successfully avoided. In this case, group members participate simultaneously in many activities of the larger society—particularly in its economy—as well as in the ethnic subsystem which continues to function as a distinctive locality group. Portions of the traditional culture and of the culture of the greater society form a workable combination which, however, remains unstable. When a crisis suggests a re-evaluation of the compromise, the process of acculturation may even be reversed and the ethnic group may seek a solution by reviving traditional behavior patterns.

In the case of the Mennonites, such a crisis was provided by the Depression. Dawson's study of farm budgets among different ethnic elements in Western Canada, undertaken four years after the onset of the Depression, revealed that Mennonite farm incomes were lower than those of non-Mennonites. At the same time, the Mennonites had had more success in balancing their budgets through reducing their inventory, farm expenses, and cash living costs. In Dawson's words, they had met the economic landslide by reverting to an economy of self-sufficiency, and they had made the transition more quickly and painlessly than others. "There is no doubt," he added, "that this adaptability is of great advantage to them in weathering periods of economic stress."¹²

RECENT TRENDS: WEST RESERVE

More recent data indicate a continued trend toward more diversified and more intensive farming in the West Reserve. The wheat acreage has been reduced in favor of fodder crops such as coarse grain and mixed grain. Between 1936 and 1941, the wheat acreage decreased from 53 per cent to 34 per cent of all land under field crops; that of barley increased from 17 per cent to 21 per cent; while mixed grains, not cultivated in 1936, occupied 19 per cent of all land under field crops in 1941 (Table 1). At the same time, the number of cattle per farm unit increased by 11 per cent, hens and chickens increased by 87 per cent, and the number of swine was more than doubled (Table 2). During this period, more land was taken under cultivation. Natural pastures, once an important factor under the open-field economy, were replaced by fodder crops and cultivated pasture land. In 1936, 90 per cent of all farm land was classified as improved; five years later the propor-

¹⁰ C. A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936), p. 166.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

TABLE 1. PROPORTION OF FIELD CROP ACREAGE IN SPECIFIED CROPS, TWO MENNONITE COLONIES, 1936 AND 1941

Crop	East Reserve		West Reserve	
	1936	1941	1936	1941
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Wheat.....	12.7	12.0	52.5	33.6
Barley.....	33.8	31.2	17.2	21.4
Oats.....	26.6	22.2	17.3	14.6
Rye.....	1.9	3.1	2.8	3.0
Flax seed.....	0.1	2.6	0.9	3.3
Mixed and other grains.....	2.7	3.2	0.0	19.2
Cultivated hay.....	19.1	18.3	5.2	2.5
Other fodder crops.....	1.2	4.5	2.9	1.4
Other field crops.....	1.9	2.9	1.2	1.0
All field crops.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

tion was 96 per cent, leaving less than 3 per cent in natural pasture and prairie (Table 3).

Comparison of the 1941 figures for a representative area in the West Reserve and a similar non-Mennonite area seems to indicate that the average Mennonite farmer had a lower cash income, due to the relatively smaller size of Mennonite farms than is usual in Manitoba's wheat belt. But Mennonite farmers apparently made better use of their resources in land and labor (Table 4). The gross cash income per

farm was less than \$1,600 in the Mennonite area, but about \$2,300 in the non-Mennonite area. Still greater was the difference in the per-capita income of the farm population because of differences in family size. If, however, the average amount of land per farm is taken into consideration, one finds that the income per hundred acres of farm land was 12.5 per cent higher in the Mennonite than in the non-Mennonite area. The sources of farm income also differed in the two areas. Income from wheat played a smaller

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF VARIOUS KINDS OF LIVESTOCK PER FARM UNIT, TWO MENNONITE COLONIES, 1936 AND 1941

Kind of livestock	East Reserve		West Reserve	
	1936	1941	1936	1941
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
Horses.....	3.7	3.1	5.0	3.8
Cattle.....	11.9	9.4	6.4	7.0
Sheep.....	5.9	4.9	1.4	1.2
Swine.....	6.8	10.3	6.2	13.9
Chickens.....	95.3	154.4	123.5	200.6

TABLE 3. LAND UTILIZATION IN TWO MENNONITE COLONIES, 1921, 1931, 1936, AND 1941

Item	East Reserve				West Reserve			
	1921	1931	1936	1941	1921	1931	1936	1941
Acres of land per farm unit..	234.4	221.9	179.1	153.1	196.1	174.5	182.0	183.2
Distribution by land use	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Improved land.....	37.3	37.5	40.1	44.6	84.8	90.0	90.8	96.1
Under field crops.....	27.3	28.0	31.1	35.5	65.4	66.2	75.8	77.2
Fallow.....	6.9	6.8	6.8	6.0	12.8	16.5	9.6	8.6
Cultivated pasture.....	1.1	2.1	1.7	1.3	6.3	5.1	5.1	7.7
Other improved land.....	2.0	0.6	0.5	1.8	0.3	2.2	0.3	2.6
Unimproved land.....	62.7	62.5	59.9	55.4	15.2	10.0	9.2	3.9
Natural pasture and prairie	32.4	32.5	37.0	42.2	14.1	9.0	6.8	2.8
Other unimproved land....	30.3	30.0	22.9	13.2	1.1	1.0	2.4	1.1

role among the Mennonites, while that from animal products, particularly from poultry and eggs, was relatively more important. An unpublished study of farm incomes, made by F. J. Westcott in 1942-1943 for the National War Finance Committee, showed still greater differences in this respect at the height of the war (Table 5). According to this estimate, income from livestock and animal products represented half of the total Mennonite farm income, but only 35 per cent of the non-Mennonite income. Subsequent years saw a greater emphasis on row crops among the Mennonites, particularly on sugar beets and oil crops such as sun-

flower. Vegetable crops, whether for canning or for seed, were also gaining in significance.

RECENT TRENDS: EAST RESERVE

The changes brought about by depression and war in the East Reserve were of a different nature. In this colony, mixed farming rather than cash-crop farming had always been the rule. Thus, the greater independence from capitalistic world markets brought about a greater resistance against the crisis. During the Depression, many Mennonites from other parts of the province were attracted to the East Reserve by the better chances

TABLE 4. FARM INCOME BY SOURCES, MENNONITE AND NON-MENNONITE AREAS, 1936 AND 1941

Indices and sources of income	East Reserve		West Reserve		Non-Mennonite area
	1936	1941	1936	1941	1941
<i>Farm income per:</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
Farm unit.....	608.96	870.85	746.56	1568.17	2302.76
Person of farm population..	104.86	155.99	137.39	284.93	535.53
100 acres of farm land.....	339.95	568.67	410.15	855.85	688.57
<i>Farm income from:</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Wheat.....	17.2	6.7	52.3	41.1	49.4
Other field crops.....		8.0		17.7	18.1
Livestock.....	21.0	26.7	13.3	14.0	12.9
Milk and milk products.....		24.9		5.2	4.4
Poultry and eggs.....	34.7	8.0	11.3	6.5	2.8
Other.....	27.1	25.7	23.1	15.5	12.4

TABLE 5. PROPORTION OF FARM INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, MENNONITE AND NON-MENNONITE AREAS, AUGUST, 1942-JULY, 1943*

Sources of farm income	East Reserve	West Reserve	Non-Mennonite area
<i>Of total farm income, percentage from:</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Wheat.....	1.4	17.8	22.2
Other field crops.....	5.9	27.4	38.9
Livestock.....	40.5	26.3	21.3
Poultry and eggs.....	17.0	12.0	7.0
Milk and milk products.....	32.2	12.3	6.7
Other sources..... (including gov't subsidies)	3.0	4.2	3.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Data collected by F. J. Westcott for the National War Finance Committee.

of weathering the storm, so that population density increased between 1931 and 1941 from 16 to 23 persons per square mile, while the number of farm units rose by 16 per cent. Despite unfavorable soil conditions, the average cash income per farm unit in 1936 was almost as great as in the West Reserve (Table 4) while gross cash profits were actually higher, because of smaller expenditures, a lower level of living, and greater reliance upon home-grown food. After 1936, the East Reserve enjoyed a period of prosperity such as it had never before experienced. This is reflected in the census figures for both farm income and farm value. In the five-year period 1936-1941, the average value of the farm unit increased by 18 per cent in the East Reserve, by 10 per cent in the West Reserve. The farm value per 100 acres of land increased by 38 per cent as against 9.5 per cent in the West Reserve. Farm income per 100 acres of farm land, on the other hand, increased by 67 per cent in the East Reserve; in the more fertile West Reserve, however, the farm income more than doubled with the upswing of the business cycle (Table 4).

In 1941, over one-fourth of the farm income in the East Reserve came from livestock (particularly hogs) and ani-

mal products. According to Westcott's estimate for 1942-43, as much as 40 per cent of all farm income was derived from livestock alone, with another 17 per cent from poultry and eggs and 32 per cent from milk and milk products; income from wheat and other field crops was down to 1 per cent and 6 per cent, respectively. While the reliability of these unpublished data is open to doubt, it is common knowledge that the East Reserve greatly profited during the war years from hogs, poultry, and dairy products. Of the twenty cheese factories in the province, six were located in this area; fresh milk was also shipped to Winnipeg. Another significant development was the establishment of small farms specializing in products which required little capital investment, such as poultry, potatoes, and berries.

TRENDS IN FARM SIZE

Farm size in Mennonite areas also differed strikingly from that of non-Mennonite areas. While there was a general tendency (particularly in the wheat belt) away from the traditional quarter-section homestead and toward larger farm units, the ratio of standard-sized farms to all farms in the two Mennonite colonies decreased only slightly—from about 40 per cent in

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS BY SIZE, TWO MENNONITE AREAS, 1891, 1921, 1936, AND 1941

Farm size	East Reserve				West Reserve			
	1891	1921	1936	1941	1891	1921	1936	1941
Acres	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
1- 10.....	6.5	0.8	15.1	13.5	1.8	3.2	16.1	5.7
11- 50.....	1.5	1.7		10.5	8.7	4.4		13.8
51-100.....	3.0	9.7	15.6	15.6	13.0	9.7	11.9	11.1
101-200*.....	59.7	44.7	39.4	34.7	57.8	48.9	38.8	35.4
201-299.....	29.3	13.2	11.0	11.7	18.7	15.7	16.0	15.6
300-479.....		29.9	15.4	11.7		18.1	14.4	14.7
480 and over.....			3.5	2.3			2.7	3.7
All farms....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number)....	(201)	(629)	(883)	(1088)	(866)	(1125)	(1240)	(1249)

*This size group includes the standard 100-acre farm.

1936 to 35 per cent in 1941. The greatest relative gain was in the size groups below 50 acres, as shown in Table 6.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

During the Depression, cooperatives and credit unions were introduced into the Mennonite colonies. The movement did not originate here but took first hold among Canadian farmers at large as a measure of self-help and social reform. This innovation was readily accepted by the Mennonites, to the extent that, by 1945-46, the West Reserve had become the main stronghold of the cooperative movement in the province. In 1945, the Federation of Southern Manitoba Cooperatives—covering almost exclusively Mennonite territory, with a total population of about 20,000—reported twenty-six affiliated organizations. The seven cooperative stores had 3,500 members; the three oil stations, 1,500 members; the six producer cooperatives, 3,400 members; and the nine credit unions, nearly 2,000 members. One of the most ambitious and successful cooperative enterprises in Western Canada was the Altona vegetable oil plant, founded in 1946 by

800 farmers and businessmen, most of them Mennonites. Two factors seem to have been mainly responsible for the spread of the cooperative movement among the Manitoba Mennonites: (1) The breakdown of their traditional economic institutions had left a vacuum which was filled by the cooperatives. (2) Because the principles of the cooperative movement bear a certain resemblance to the solidaristic type of peasant economy, the cooperatives seemed to the Mennonites a revival of familiar forms of socio-economic organization.

Still, the cooperative movement took permanent root in only one of the Mennonite colonies, the West Reserve. Although it entered the other settlement at about the same time, it was soon abandoned there. Several of the cooperatives were transformed into private stock companies, so that by 1945-46 only a few cooperative stores, credit unions, and cheese factories were still in operation in the East Reserve. As a matter of fact, people were openly boasting that they got along as well and better without such "economic crutches." Business in this

colony was aggressively competitive. The difference between the two colonies may be explained in part by the fact that the East Reserve had suffered much less in the Depression and had recovered much more quickly. Furthermore, when the cooperatives were first introduced here, there were still some of the older institutions in existence. Thus, unlike in the West Reserve, the cooperatives did not fill a vacuum but tended to replace the traditional peasant institutions. Finally, economic conditions improved before the cooperatives had a chance of becoming firmly established and of proving their worth as a means of self-help in a crisis. They were quickly given up as soon as individual enterprise promised greater economic gain, a gain which seemed to contribute to the general prosperity of the colony. Nevertheless, even in the competitive East Reserve, capitalism was accepted with a strong mental reservation, and *pro tempore* as it were.

SUMMARY

Mennonite reaction to agrarian capitalism could perhaps be summed up as follows: As long as it proved workable, they tended to follow the example of the host society. Once its fallacies became apparent, they reverted readily and, as Dawson observes, painlessly to older behavior patterns. At the same time, they were open to ideas of agrarian reform along cooperative lines which seemed in keeping with their own peasant heritage. Of course, the economy of Canada's larger society, too, has outgrown the gilded age of agrarian capitalism. But it appears that the Mennonites have gone very much their own way since the Depression.

Such a statement may seem highly impressionistic unless one takes into consideration the broader aspects of Mennonite social organization which have not been discussed in this paper.

A comparison between Dawson's findings and other historical data reflecting conditions in the late twenties and early thirties, and the writer's observations made fifteen years later, indicates a greater emphasis in the latter period on social heritage, and a more critical approach to what Canadian and American culture have to offer as a substitute. Once the myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority had been shattered in the economic sphere, the Mennonites seem to have regained a new pride and faith in their own group. They were inclined to look down upon their neighbors, whom they considered poorer farmers, less able to resist the periodic crises of a capitalistic economy. Until 1945-46, at least, group coherence was still strong and showed no signs of serious or permanent disorganization. The Mennonites had remained the least urbanized of all ethnic groups in Manitoba, and most of their "urban" population lived in small trade centers in their own colonies, where they had largely displaced the original non-Mennonite majorities. Inter-marriages were still very rare, except with members of the neighboring German Lutherans, a group of a very similar peasant background.

Since 1931, Manitoba's Mennonite population has been concentrated to a remarkable degree in and near the two areas of solid Mennonite settlement. While they were familiar with the English language, and while the younger generations had been educated exclusively in public grade schools, all Manitoba Mennonites understood, and spoke as their vernacular, a Low German dialect. Modern trends in American Protestantism have had a strong influence upon Mennonite religion. Still, conversions to non-Mennonite churches were infrequent. Participation in church activities, which are also social affairs, did not appear to have suffered, while commercial amusements and secular clubs had found en-

trance only in a few places. The conjugal family and the bilateral kinship group, kept alive by family reunions and frequent visits among relatives, remained strong elements in the whole social fabric.

The process of adjustment during and since the Depression, described in this paper, is strongly reminiscent of the process of reorganization among the Polish peasants in Europe, which Thomas and Znaniecki have analyzed.¹³ In both instances, the old institutional basis of the community organization had become disorganized upon close contact with a modern capitalistic socio-economic system. In both instances, a successful attempt was made at social reconstruction through the introduction of new and more ade-

quate institutions, particularly agricultural cooperatives.

The investigation of but one case—and perhaps an unusual one—puts heavy restrictions upon any generalizing statements which one might be inclined to make. It seems safe, however, to reject the hypothesis that an ethnic group, particularly a rural group, will necessarily be absorbed by the larger society when forced to adjust itself to the capitalistic economy of the larger society and to the ways of life that go with it. The process of adjustment appears to be highly selective. It does not seem to proceed only in the direction of wholesale acculturation. By developing new behavior patterns and institutions which are unlike both those of the parent culture and those of the host society, an ethnic group may be able to prevent assimilation and the loss of its members to the host society, and thus may continue to function as a distinctive social subsystem.

¹³ W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, 1927), II, pp. 1198 ff. and 1303 ff.

LAND SETTLEMENT IN VENEZUELA: WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TUREN PROJECT*

by George W. Hill and Gregorio Beltrán†

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to demonstrate certain sociological and cultural factors which have hitherto diverted the streams of European migration from tropical America to the temperate zones, namely, (1) folk misconceptions concerning the nutritive value of tropical foods and causal factors in diseases; (2) incompatibility of religions and political processes; (3) monopolistic land practices; (4) difficulty of communications; and (5) non-existence of the attractions embodied in the "agricultural ladder." The conclusions suggest that only government-directed immigration of large-scale proportions and government-sponsored land development policies, such as are found in the Turén settlement, are feasible today. This is in contrast to the individualistic policies of the past century.

THE PROBLEM

Agricultural group settlement in the Western Hemisphere, as distinguished from the spontaneous and undirected flow of individual settlers, can be divided into two general categories: privately sponsored and government-sponsored settlement. Under the former, the settlers themselves not only take the personal risks involved in pioneer settlement, but they also generally assume all financial costs of the venture. On the other hand, settlements sponsored by governments are financed from public funds. Another distinguishing characteristic of the two forms of settlement is that in privately sponsored movements the membership of the group is determined by the settlers themselves, whereas the immigrants are selected by government agencies when the movements are government-sponsored.

The history of agricultural group settlement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Western Hemisphere is predominantly one of private ventures. In fact, much of the agri-

cultural development which we now find in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Canada, and the United States is the result of settlements established in these countries by private religious and nationality groups from Europe and, in other instances, settlements established by land development and transportation companies.¹

In contrast to the settlement in the foregoing countries, private group settlement has never been a significant factor in the development of Venezuela. The best known—and in many ways the most successful—private ven-

¹ The Mennonite Church has been one of the most aggressive settlement agencies of the twentieth century, and a large proportion of the present Mennonite settlements in Paraguay, Uruguay, and Mexico are made up of settlers who had earlier spent some years in Canada and the United States; the remainder of the Mennonite settlers in these countries emigrated directly to their present locations from Europe. The Mennonite settlements in Mexico and South America are in reality colonies, not just settlements, because the members and colonizers are carrying the doctrines of their church to a new country while remaining in close connection with the mother church in the United States, and—in many ways—subject to her orders. The word "colonization" applies to these people, whereas the general practice of translating literally the Spanish term *colonización* into the English "colonization" is an improper use of the term.

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ture was the founding of the Tovar Settlement in the state of Aragua, in 1840, by Martin Tovar and others. On the other hand, the pages of Venezuela's history, in the nineteenth century following her independence and in the early decades of the twentieth century, are replete with the good intentions of the successive governments of this period to encourage and to assist private schemes of land settlement in the newly organized republic. Among some of the most ambitious of the proposals were the following: an agreement between the Venezuelan government and its consul in Hamburg, Germany, in 1851; the "Guayana Company Limited" proposal, in 1883, for the establishment of four livestock, four agricultural, and four mining settlements in the former Federal Territory of Yuruary; a plan by Cirynius Fitzgerald, in 1884, for the settlement of the Territory of the Delta Amacuro; and the Act of May 17, 1899, establishing the "Italian Settlement Company" which proposed the importation of 3,000 families each three years over a 15-year period. All of these proposals failed to materialize, even though formal contracts having legislative approval were entered into with the respective settlement agents or companies.

Until after the death of General Gómez, in 1936, Venezuela had no significant government-sponsored land development and settlement program. A combination of factors—social, economic, and geographic—determined the hemispheric land-settlement patterns of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and influenced the flow of immigrant streams toward certain areas of the hemisphere and away from others. Perhaps if the significance of these processes is evaluated in their historical perspective, the social scientist can help guide land settlement of the mid-twentieth century toward successful goals; such an evaluation is the

purpose of this paper. There follows a review of some of the historical processes and a brief review of the government-sponsored settlement at Turén, to see in what way, if any, the latter is a reflection of the historical processes.

SOME DETERMINING FACTORS IN LAND SETTLEMENT DURING THE PAST CENTURY

There are many reasons why the selective processes of immigration during the past one hundred years caused the great majority of the farm families among the immigrants to the Western Hemisphere to settle in the temperate zones. Only those which the authors consider most important are considered here:

(1) Students of immigration have uniformly agreed that Europeans in general preferred the temperate zones because of the climatological similarity to their home countries. Furthermore, the apparent dissimilarity between the tropics and most European countries was not necessarily important in itself; rather it was the early difficulties experienced in adapting the organism to the environment, and the resulting discomforts and diseases, which were the limiting causes. The climate itself, in other words, could have been overcome, had early settlers known how to make the adjustment.

A great deal of discussion has been devoted to the debilitating effects of tropical living, but here again the authors believe that the causal factors have been both misunderstood and overemphasized. Current research studies in the biochemistry of tropical foods and the dietary of indigenous populations of these areas demonstrate clearly the high vitamin content of foods native to the tropics in contrast to some imported substitutes from temperate zones. Debilitation was caused in many cases by improper food habits of the immigrants. A true understanding and use of the vitamins

contained in tropical foods would have overcome a large part of the loss of energy which some have suffered.²

While some immigrants made satisfactory adjustment to tropical living, others did not; and it is the group which failed whose experiences have deterred greater settlement in the tropics, even though there were fewer failures than successes. Thus, part of the unfavorable experiences have been the result of erroneous opinions, both professional and commonsense; but, —erroneous or not—they influenced the streams of settlement to avoid the tropics. Since organized group movements of migrants have been more rational in their planning and more prone to consider in advance factors which might be detrimental to their move, it would appear that the reported dangers of tropical living operated as effective sociological deterrents to migration to the tropics.

(2) As a whole, the area embracing the tropical region of the Western Hemisphere was marked by a consistent series of unstable governments during the past one hundred years. When we appreciate that the era of greatest exodus from Europe was during its hectic social and political revolutionary years of the same one hundred years, it seems only natural that the migrants chose to move to new countries which appeared to offer the best possible opportunity of religious, social, and political freedom of settlement. Since religious, social, and political motivations were dominant in most of the migrations of organized groups of this period, it could not be expected that they would voluntarily choose settlement in countries that did

not seem to offer them the refuge that they wanted. It is on this score that Venezuela and most other tropical Latin-American countries have appealed least to prospective settlers during the past century of heavy European migration. Furthermore, slavery still existed in Venezuela when many of the privately sponsored groups were preparing to emigrate, and they avoided Venezuela—as they did the southern slave states of the United States during this same period.

(3) Practically all of the popular revolutions which plagued the Old Continent during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were characterized by large discontented agrarian elements. This was obvious, for example, in the upheavals in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century. Likewise, the heavy early exodus from England, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries—as well as the later emigration from Italy and the Slavic countries—was an immigration of rural people seeking land. The traditions of primogeniture in the Nordic and Teutonic area of Europe, which caused family farms to be willed to the eldest son, forced millions of other potential young farmers to migrate in search of land opportunities. The process of subdivision of family holdings among all offspring in that part of Europe dominated by the force of Roman law resulted in the fragmentation of holdings. When the sons of an Italian peasant, for example, faced the prospect of maintaining their newly acquired families on one or two hectares (which was their share of the family inheritance) in contrast with the ten or twenty hectares which their father possessed, the hopelessness of the situation was a principal factor in their decision to emigrate. This was the situation that confronted young families throughout the Mediterranean area, hence the heavy exodus from that part of Europe in the late decades of the nineteenth and ear-

² See Robert S. Harris, "An Approach to the Nutrition Problems of Other Nations," *Science*, CII (July 13, 1945), pp. 42-44; also, by the same author, "The Nutrition Problems of Mexico," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, XXII, No. 11 (Nov., 1946), pp. 974-976.

ly decades of the twentieth centuries. Emigration from southern and eastern Europe lagged behind that of northern Europe by several decades, and seems to have been precipitated by the fragmentation of landholdings and population pressure, the latter coming a generation or two later than in the northern countries.

A migrating people motivated by land hunger would choose to move where their land hopes could be realized. Countries marked by excessive "latifundism," and with a land policy that militated against the prospects of family-sized farming, would be avoided by these migrants. Prior to the agrarian reform law, Venezuela held little hope for a farm-minded immigrant. Although the tropical countries, including Venezuela, were vociferous in their apparent demands for farm immigrants, in reality they were seeking farm laborers who were not expected to aspire to farm ownership, but, rather, to augment an already abundant and heavily exploited local labor supply. Knowing the difficulties of achieving landownership, farm-owner-minded immigrants chose to migrate to other areas of the world. They avoided tropical Latin America that, in reality, was seeking a supply of cheap farm labor.

(4) While pioneer settlement logically involves social isolation, most pioneers cherish the hope that eventually they will be incorporated into the community or state with which they may have at first ever so tenuous a peripheral relationship. Incorporation socially and economically requires means of communication, and, when these are not forthcoming after a reasonable period, the pioneer settlement faces extinction.³ While river valleys

have been almost universally used as natural routes of penetration, the supporting system of railroads, principal highways, and farm-to-market roads has been more difficult to establish in tropical countries than in the temperate zones. The prevalence of mountainous coastlines and the torrential downpours with their resulting disastrous results of erosion on the soils of low organic content, which are characteristic of the tropics, make road-building a costly affair. The constant repairs to overcome the effects of erosion and landslides and the never-ending struggle against recurring vegetation likewise make for high road-maintenance costs.

A difficult terrain, however, has not been the only obstacle to the development of a network of social communications facilities. Road-building has also lagged in tropical areas because of the prevailing latifundium system. Private holders of large estates would not use their own resources for road-building, and the state has generally accepted responsibility only for the construction of highways to link its principal cities. In the United States, Canada, and other countries whose land policies have favored family-sized landholdings, secondary highways and farm-to-market roads, rural telephones and electricity, and rural schools and hospitals developed from group interest and group action on the local or "grassroots" level. Until re-

of the founding fathers to concentrate their village settlements have broken down because many families continue to move into the relatively more densely populated region of eastern Paraguay to escape the social isolation of the pioneer settlements.

Cf. Willard H. Smith and Verna G. Smith, *Paraguayan Interlude* (Scottsdale, Penn.: Herald Press, 1950). Numerous statements have appeared in the press deploring the gradual decay of the once flourishing settlement of Tovar; after 110 years its only outlet into the remainder of the state is a tortuous, mountain, burro trail.

³ Notwithstanding the bonds of religion which prompted the Mennonites to settle in the Gran Chaco of western Paraguay and held them together for awhile, the plans

cently there has been no such corresponding source of demand in most Latin-American countries; power to demand and to act was vested in two sources only—the federal government and the few monopolistic private landholders. Unless their interests required roads, schools, sanitary facilities, telephones, electricity, and similar facilities, the improvements were not forthcoming. There has been no middle-class, farm-owner group large enough to be able to demand the development of a network of communications facilities that would have encouraged private settlement.

The geography, the monopolistic processes of autocratic centralized government, and the anti-social traditions of the latifundium system have operated against both individual and private group settlement in the tropics, except for those few groups who, for religious purposes, have deliberately sought social isolation.⁴

(5) Given the hoe, the normal strength of early manhood, and the dreams which have lured immigrants onward, the pioneer settlers—be they individual or group settlers—have generally achieved permanency of settlement and economic success in the farm

lands of the temperate zones. Living was naturally somewhat frugal for such early settlers, but the processes of nature combined to enable them to pyramid their steady gains and in a few years horse-drawn or machine-powered equipment lightened the burden for the settler and, likewise, increased the rate of his economic enrichment. Similar processes of economic growth have not been duplicated in the tropics; where they have been attempted, they have led to failure or retrogression.⁵

The authors have called attention elsewhere to the origins of the *encomienda* land system, by which the early Spanish settlers utilized land grants of the Crown and forced labor of the Indians to establish the restrictive *hacienda* system which, until recently, has been the universal pattern of the tropics.⁶ Perhaps the economics of the situation was such that no other pattern could originally have been established, but the *encomienda* pattern has thwarted any large-scale growth of family farming. Farming today in the tropics is a much more costly process than in the temperate zone, in terms of comparable areas of land. Land-clearing is expensive and can be accomplished only with the aid of heavy machinery; land preparation and cultivation against competitive vegetation is also a more repetitive and costly

⁴ Even though the distances have been shorter in these small countries, there have been few examples of cross-country jumping, such as those which brought about the settlement of the Far West in the United States and Canada, and the settlement of the southern and western Pampas of Argentina. Public sentiment in Venezuela has long urged the settlement in the isolated savannah and Guayana highlands of the Southeast, but few Venezuelans have penetrated the region, notwithstanding its reportedly fabulous mineral resources. Foreign capital has hitherto exploited its precious metals, and foreign capital is now developing its recently discovered iron-ore deposits. Pioneer expansion into new regions, industrial or agricultural, has seldom flourished among a people where initiative must rest with the government instead of growing up from demands on the local level.

⁵ Cf. Leo Waibel, "European Colonization in Southern Brazil," *The Geographical Review*, XL, No. 4 (1950), pp. 529-547, for an account of a people who, in many ways, have retrogressed on the economic and social scale today after three generations of farming, because they failed to realize that more aggressive and more expensive methods of farming were necessary in Brazil than the peasant methods which served in Europe, or the primitive native habits which they have copied.

⁶ Cf. George W. Hill, Gregorio Beltrán, and Cristina Mariño, "Social Welfare and Land Tenure in the Agrarian Reform Program of Venezuela," soon to be published in *Journal of Land Economics*.

process; the battle against insects, pests, and diseases is an expensive one and can be carried on only with appropriate equipment. In short, to start farming in the tropics today requires as much credit as it would take to buy a fully equipped and going farm in the rich and highly mechanized Mid-west family-farm region of the United States. Farming has never been and never can be a poor man's occupation in the tropics, unless he wants to exist on the *conquero* level. The agricultural ladder up which so many present-day farmers have climbed in North America has not existed in this part of the hemisphere. While undoubtedly the costly outlay in basic equipment which is necessary here, militated originally against private group settlement in Venezuela, the cost factor is even more important today.

A CURRENT LAND-SETTLEMENT POLICY

In 1936 the Venezuelan Ministry of Agriculture launched a program of land settlement, immigration, and the development of agricultural communities. This program was taken over by the newly created Technical Institute of Immigration and Settlement the following year. In the ensuing ten or eleven years, various agricultural projects and centers were inaugurated, some of which have persisted and others have failed. By and large, the program was a desultory one, was not marked with any degree of success, and was characterized by little planning and application of known principles of land development.

At times, the gates of the country were opened wide for immigrants, who were scattered throughout the interior of the country in hurriedly constructed barracks. These actually created an excessive farm labor surplus that could not be absorbed. Little intelligent attempt was made to assure the settlement of the immigrants as farm operators. The barracks have now been

closed, and all but a few of the intended farmers have drifted into the industrial streams of the cities. One notable purpose which the earlier uncontrolled immigration did serve was the providing of at least a temporary home for some of the several million displaced persons who were cast upon the western European countries following cessation of hostilities of World War II.

Venezuela's first consistently planned agricultural land development dates from the inauguration of the Agrarian Reform Law, June 28, 1949, and the creation of the National Agrarian Institute to administer the new law. Among the many projects launched by the Agrarian Institute, the principal one has been Turén, which has developed in two years into one of the outstanding planned agricultural communities of the hemisphere.⁷

Turén is located in the western fringe of the *llanos* of Venezuela. Reconnaissance ecological and topographical surveys determined the original selection of the site of Turén, and subsequent more detailed soils studies confirmed the soundness of the tentative choice of the area. Work during the first year was centered on land-clearing; drainage; road-building; house-building; installation of electricity, water, medical, and sanitary facilities, etc.; and planting of the prepared area in one large administratively managed farm. The latter was done to assure the full preparation of the raw soil before it was parcelled among individual operators.

Some 200 families have now been installed in their homes; most of them have already harvested their first crops. Credit over a period of twenty-five years has been arranged, for the

⁷ A detailed description of the Turén settlement can be found in *Turén*, bulletin of the National Agrarian Institute, Caracas, Venezuela (1950).

purchase of the lands by the families at a provisional price; five-year credit has been extended for the purchase of machinery and equipment. Precise charges for the land and houses have not yet been determined, since total cost calculations are not yet available on the preparation of land, drainage, irrigation, roads, and other things. In an effort to be completely fair, the final purchase price will be based on the ultimate productive value of each unit and the cost of development, the latter to be determined eventually by an appraisal board.

Both Venezuelan and foreign families have been settled—the former resettled from less productive regions of the country, and the latter selected by immigration missions in Europe, then transported to the community by the government. Each has been given a family-sized unit, ranging from 30 to 50 hectares in size. In addition, one part of the settlement has been set aside on which neighboring *conuqueros* are being resettled on plots of five hectares each. An intensive educational and supervised-farming program has been inaugurated for the rehabilitation of the *conuquero* and his family, with the hope that he will learn modern farming methods and thus qualify for a larger unit. In other words, the program in Turén is not concerned solely with agricultural production; there is an equal interest in promoting the development of a family-farm class and the reeducation and rehabilitation of the landless *conuquero* or squatter. These "social ends" balance the production aims of Turén.

Since most of the population of Europe that is now available for immigration is composed of refugees (displaced persons) or excess unemployed peoples, few of this group have the financial resources to resettle themselves. In this respect, present-day immigrants differ radically from many of the immigrants of the last century:

few of them are able to finance their own migration and resettlement abroad, as did so many private groups of the earlier period—hence the assistance given them both by the Venezuelan government and by international agencies, such as the I.R.O. In order that there might be the maximum possibility of success in their migration, public missions have been established in Europe for the selection, examination, orientation, and placement of migrants. Furthermore, all possible precautionary public health measures have been taken to assist immigrants in making a healthy physical adjustment to the tropical environment. A corps of farm-management and home-management specialists will likewise provide guidance in the learning of new farm and home practices required in tropical farming and living, in order to overcome some of the chief cultural difficulties encountered by earlier immigrants to the tropics.

Now that the most accessible land frontiers of the world have long since been settled, it is more necessary than ever for a government to safeguard the development of the comparatively few remaining hectares of public land. In the heyday of immigration of the past century, the trial-and-error process of development might have had some justification, because, if one did not make a suitable adjustment in his first settlement attempt, there was always an expanding frontier before him. The negligently amount of remaining unused lands is too precious to permit anything less than a strict public supervision for their disposal. Food requirements of the world are increasing with the natural growth of the world's population (population is increasing at a more rapid rate than food production, some tell us); but the very fact that larger agricultural yields are necessary is not the only aspect of the problem which challenges us. The Agrarian Institute and the other agri-

cultural agencies are attempting to coördinate the need for increased production, on the one hand, with a better use of the available land and farm population on the other. This is precisely what the F.A.O. is attempting on the international level.

CONCLUSION

Turén is the result of the Agrarian Institute's program to step up agricultural production, to provide land for the landless sharecroppers, to raise the level of living of these people, and to promote a rational policy of immigration. From the analysis of the sociological, economic, and political forces which influenced the migration and

settlement patterns of the century just passed, it is clear that world conditions of the moment will not permit a revival of these same patterns. More governmental and intergovernmental planning and execution is required today than in previous years. It is probable that any significant volume of group settlement in Venezuela, and in the tropics in general, will be government-sponsored—at least the government will have a major share in the shaping of policies. Furthermore, if the emphasis should be toward an accelerated stream of immigration, then international government agencies will have to shoulder a large part of the program to be undertaken.

THE PROBLEM OF LOCALITY-GROUP CLASSIFICATION*

by Frank D. Alexander†

ABSTRACT

The confusion in the use of the terms *neighborhood* and *community* indicates a need for other approaches to the problem of locality-group classification. Sociological literature dealing with locality groups suggests the possibility of a continuum approach to the classification problem and emphasizes, through omission, the need for considering group identification as a factor in the formulation of an adequate classification scheme. A scheme of locality-group classification based on service and group-identification ratings, which has been used in three recent studies of rural social organization, is suggestive but inadequate because of difficulties involved in following subjective procedures for determining group-identification ratings. An attempt to determine group-identification ratings objectively has been made recently in a Minnesota village-centered locality group. Further investigations of this kind are needed. Experimentation with intercorrelations of classification factors offers an opportunity for arriving at a limited number of significant factors that may be quantified easily. It is believed that a classification scheme formulated in this manner will provide a practical tool for both researchers and planners. Cooperative efforts among researchers will be required in making a basic attack on this problem.

The purpose of this article is to call attention to an important problem in the field of locality-group research and

to make some methodological suggestions relating thereto. Generally, locality groups have been divided into two basic categories: neighborhood and community. The great variation in locality-group characteristics makes this dichotomy inadequate. An examination of textbooks and articles deal-

*Revision of a paper presented at the 1950 meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Estes Park, Colorado.

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ing with the definitions of neighborhood and community quickly reveals the difficulties involved in a classification that uses only these two categories. T. Lynn Smith, in attempting to define community, writes:

"Communities are also locality groups. In general they are larger than neighborhoods, although in many cases it is difficult to draw an exact dividing line between the two. As Sanderson has written: 'Frequently it is difficult to say whether a given area is a community or a neighborhood, in the same way that it is not always possible to distinguish between a species and a variety of organisms.'"¹

Similar comments could be cited from other writers. There can be little doubt that the terms *community* and *neighborhood* have been used so loosely that they have lost their significance as scientific terms and should be abandoned for research purposes.

A rough grouping of existing schemes for classifying locality groups is as follows: (1) community classifications, but with neighborhood groups as customarily defined not included; (2) so-called community classifications, which may be so applied that they will include neighborhoods as customarily defined; (3) neighborhood classifications; and (4) hamlet, village, town, and city (as such, or as centers of locality groups) classifications. A more exhaustive examination of the literature would undoubtedly bring to light other types of classifications.

A review of the various classifications subsumed under the above four groupings leads to two observations:

(1) There have already been developed approaches to locality-group classification which make it possible to eliminate the community-neighborhood dichotomy. These schemes provide, either explicitly or implicitly, opportunities for developing categories

that represent intervals or degrees along scales of various kinds. (2) Relatively little attention has been given to the concept of group identification or "sense of belonging" as a factor in classification. However, functional or associative factors which might be expected to result in a sense of belonging are recognized in several classification schemes found in the literature.

A SCHEME OF CLASSIFICATION BASED ON SERVICE RATING AND GROUP-IDENTIFICATION RATING

The classification scheme discussed here first appeared in Grigsby and Hoffsommer's study of Frederick County, Maryland; Jehlik and Wakeley's study of Hamilton County, Iowa; and Alexander and Nelson's study of Goodhue County, Minnesota.²

This classification scheme was the product of a group working under the leadership of Carl C. Taylor. The scheme rests on the broad assumption that locality groups which have traditionally been classified as neighborhoods and communities belong to the same genus of group phenomena and can, therefore, be classified into significant subgroups according to degrees of difference in respect to basic characteristics. The following fairly simple tentative operational definition of locality groups was used:

A locality group is a group that can be identified with a specific (limited) geographical area and whose members have a sense of belonging together. Usually there is a focal point with one or more services, but there are some locality groups without such focal points, al-

² S. Earl Grigsby and Harold Hoffsommer, *Rural Social Organization of Frederick County, Maryland*, AES Bull. No. 451, University of Maryland (College Park, 1949); Paul J. Jehlik and Ray E. Wakeley, *Rural Organization: A Case Study of Hamilton County, Iowa*, AES Bull. No. 365, Iowa State College (Ames, 1949); and Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization in Goodhue County, Minnesota*, AES Bull. No. 401, University of Minnesota (St. Paul, 1949).

¹ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 336.

though the members have a sense of belonging together and live in an area that may be identified.

In addition to spatial identity, this definition assigns two characteristics to locality groups: (1) common services at a center, and (2) group identification. These two characteristics were chosen as basic factors for developing a classification scheme.

In the three counties, locality groups were delineated around each service center, even though some of these "centers" had only one service, such as a school or store.³ In addition, an attempt was made to discover and delineate all non-focal (without a service or services) spatial groupings.⁴ Each locality was then given ratings on the two factors, services and group identification. In presenting the ratings, the letter A was used to designate service rating, and the letter B, group-identification rating. Dun and Bradstreet data for 1945, supplemented by data from actual field investigation of small places, were used as the basis for the A rating. This service score was computed by adding the number of different kinds of services, a value of one for the presence of one or more doctors, the same value for the presence of one or more dentists, and a weighted value for schools.

Graduations for the A-factor were determined by examining Dun and Bradstreet data on number of different kinds of services for a sample of service centers in the twenty-four counties in which rural social organization studies were being made by the Divi-

sion of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S.D.A. This examination made possible the determination of range for gradations as well as class intervals within the range. It resulted in the following gradations or classes: A⁵—100 or more different kinds of services; A⁴—50-99; A³—16-49; A²—5-15; and A¹—1-4. The descriptive terms assigned to these categories were as follows: A⁵—high service; A⁴—relatively high service; A³—medium service; A²—relatively low service; A¹—low service.

The data for determining ratings on the service factor were objective and easily obtained; those for determining group identification were neither so objective nor so readily obtainable. Because no effective techniques have been devised for a direct attack on this aspect of locality groups, the determination of identification ratings necessarily had to depend on somewhat arbitrary and subjective evaluation.

The method used to determine group-identification ratings is stated in the Goodhue County study as follows:

" . . . Group identification was considered as the residue of what has been commonly referred to in sociological literature as primary-group activities. Accordingly, an ideal type of primary neighborhood group was posited with the following behavior characteristics assigned to it: (1) visiting by families and by individuals; (2) mutual aid—(a) in emergencies, i.e., sickness, death, (b) in production, i.e., exchange of work and tools, (c) in borrowing and lending, i.e., food, money; (3) spontaneous play and recreation—children's games, picnics, hunting, fishing; (4) exchange of personal confidences—relating to intimate personal feelings and experiences; and (5) repetition of group and personal experiences—stories about the group and its personalities. Each locality was examined to ascertain activities and experiences that might have any aspects of the above kinds of behavior. A list of these was made and studied to judge the primary-group attitudes and understandings that might be expected to result from these activities and experiences, and which could then be rated as

³ It was agreed among those who developed the scheme that churches would not be considered service institutions. Experience in the application of the scheme, from the viewpoint of the author of this paper, indicates that it would have been better to have considered churches as service institutions.

⁴ Although the problem of locality-group delineation is important in locality-group studies, this problem is not discussed here.

giving a sense of belonging together or of group identification. This meant further positing of what the ideal primary group would have in the way of attitudes and common understanding. The basic ones considered were: (1) total personality of each individual fully known; and (2) feelings of intimacy and sentimental attachments. This somewhat systematic qualitative analysis was combined with a general judgment of the sense of belonging which the researcher had made in his role of observer while in the county. Index values were then assigned to the B-factor which had the following meaning: B^3 —High group identification; B^2 —Medium group identification; B^1 —Low group identification.⁵

Application of this technique to localities found in Goodhue County, Minnesota, resulted in the following categories with one or more localities in each class:

- I. Low group identification:
 - A. With high service rating (A^3B^1)
 - B. With low service rating (A^1B^1)
- II. Medium group identification:
 - A. With relatively high service rating (A^2B^2)
 - B. With medium service rating (A^3B^2)
 - C. With relatively low service rating (A^2B^3)
 - D. With low service rating (A^1B^2)
- III. High group identification:
 - A. With low service rating (A^1B^3)
 - B. With no services (B^3)

The crucial point in the classification scheme is what is really meant by group identification. The difficulties involved in dealing with group identification are illustrated by the three studies under consideration. Although a statement of the technique to be followed in scoring locality groups on identification, similar to the one quoted from the Goodhue study, was circulated among those working on the studies, close examination of the studies shows

differences in methods followed. Thus, in the Hamilton County (Iowa) study, the authors specifically point out that, in addition to selected ideal primary group characteristics, "... some of the less personal and more formal types of social behavior also were considered, such as (1) live locality spirit; (2) good cooperation between open-country and village families; (3) cooperation among organizations; (4) strong organization and effective leadership; (5) successful and adequate locality activities; and (6) ability of the locality to adjust to change."⁶ Certainly some of these additional factors might very well become the bases for further subclassification of locality groups, but it is doubtful that they should become the constituent elements of the group-identification rating.

The Minnesota study and the Maryland study are fairly comparable in their statements of procedure in rating identification. The Minnesota report emphasizes attitudes and common understandings such as "total personality of each individual fully known," and "feelings of intimacy and sentimental attachments." The Maryland report emphasizes "interpersonal and interfamily association," and "special interest associations which are jointly and cooperatively utilized by most of the members."⁷

Even though there is an apparent general agreement in procedure between the Minnesota and Maryland studies, the results suggest that there may have been significant differences in application of the procedure. In Frederick County, Maryland, five of the localities with B^3 ratings (high identification) had centers with populations ranging from 650 to 1500 (1947). Moreover, the total populations of

⁶ Paul J. Jehlik and Ray E. Wakeley, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁷ S. Earl Grigsby and Harold Hoffsommer, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁵ Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

these locality groups, including service center and trade area, ranged from 1200 to 5400.⁸ In the Goodhue County (Minnesota) study, estimates were not made for total population of locality groups, but none of the five locality groups whose centers had populations (1940) ranging from around 500 to around 1500 received a high identification rating (B^3).⁹ This difference in classification of localities with centers having populations in the range from around 500 to 1500—particularly of those toward the upper limit of the range—raises some serious questions. Either Goodhue localities with population centers of this size are markedly different from similar-sized places in Frederick County, or the researchers have failed to follow uniform procedures in arriving at their ratings.

Moreover, one wonders whether the high rating of B^3 assigned to the Frederick County localities whose centers have populations ranging from 650 to 1500 may not be challenged, in view of the theoretically low probability of such localities having group-identification ratings approximating that of the ideal primary neighborhood, especially when the total population of these localities (including service center and trade area) ranged from 1200 to 5400. Certainly locality groups where populations approach these numbers can hardly be expected to possess the personal intimacy and other primary characteristics which are commonly associated with the ideal primary neighborhood.

In view of the admitted experimental and subjective character of the B -ratings, it is obviously unfair to be highly critical of the classification procedures followed in these studies. Rather, it is hoped that a challenge has been made to others to examine and develop the classification scheme. The problems associated with the identification factor have been presented here to emphasize the necessity for attacking this problem and to use the occasion for making some suggestions regarding this attack.

INVESTIGATION OF THE GROUP-IDENTIFICATION FACTOR

Shortly after the classification scheme described above was formulated, some of the researchers involved began working on a more objective approach to group identification.¹⁰ The main objective of the investigation was to ascertain the intensity of people's identification with the various locality groups to which they might claim to belong. A schedule to be administered to heads of households, alternating between husbands and wives, was constructed and tested. This schedule consisted of an identification test formulated around characteristics postulated for an ideal primary locality group (neighborhood); a test on trade-center-trade-area relationships, directed toward group solidarity; three imaginary situations in which monetary values were placed on locality attachment; and questions relating to the respondent's educational attainments, his informal and formal participation

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30. These population data for locality centers are presented in a table dated September, 1947, and are presumably estimates for that date. In any case, the figures do not differ enough from 1940 census figures (for those places on which census figures are available) to affect the subsequent comparison with the Goodhue centers.

⁹ Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁰ Roy Buck and the author collaborated on this study of group identification in one of the village-centered locality groups of Goodhue County. Buck was then a graduate student representing the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, and the author was a representative of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U.S. D.A. The collaborators had the advice of Lowry Nelson, Carl C. Taylor, and members of the latter's Washington staff.

with reference to locality groups, his and/or his mate's occupation, his and his mate's locality-group kinship ties, his family's communication facilities, major level-of-living items, and the family's use of service facilities according to locality groups. The schedule was so designed that responses to the test items, participation questions, and questions on use of service facilities were related to the village-centered locality group as well as to all smaller localities lying within the village-centered locality, to which the respondent could be related.

The sample of interviewees for the study was selected by areas, beginning with the village as Area I and proceeding outward, by tiers two land sections in width, until the entire trade area of the village was covered. By selecting the sample in this manner it was intended to make possible the analysis of distance from the center as a factor in identification, as well as analysis of differences between village and trade area. Unfortunately, costs prohibited the use of a sufficiently large sample to permit determination of average identification scores for all the smaller locality groups lying within the village trade area. It should be possible, however, to compare the average scores for certain classes of these localities with average scores for the village and for the entire village-centered community.

The locality identification test was the most important part of the schedule. It contained eighteen different statements, each presented in both negative and positive form, or a total of thirty-six statements, to which the interviewee was permitted five levels of response: "strongly agree," "agree," "undecided," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." The statements were read to the interviewee, who responded by applying them to each locality to which, in preliminary discussion, he

had indicated he belonged. Listed below are the nine statements which preliminary statistical analysis has shown to be the most significant from the standpoint of internal consistency. The blank which each statement contains was successively filled with the names or other identification of the localities to which the interviewee claimed to belong.

1. A person feels that he should attend the funeral of almost everyone in thelocality.
2. A person can usually feel free to drop in any time for a visit with most people in thelocality.
3. In addition to a possible change in occupation, it would make a great deal of difference to me if I had to move out of thelocality.
4. The families in thelocality depend on each other a great deal.
5. It would be hard to find a better place than thelocality in which to live.
6. A person does not hesitate to ask personal favors of almost anyone in thelocality.
7. Usually a person would hate to ask anyone in thelocality for the return of borrowed money or articles, even though they were past due.
8. A person feels at home in thelocality.
9. What people say about each other in thelocality means a lot to them.

These statements could easily become the subject of considerable controversy. Whether or not they should have been stated in the first person is one issue. Another is the halo effect which seems to be associated with some of the statements. Equally important, however, from the standpoint of method, are the interviewing difficulties and costs in attempting to use this method of arriving at an identification rating of locality groups. By experimenting with tests of this type, it should be possible to develop shorter tests and to establish significant correlations with kinds of information that are more easily obtained. Selz C. Mayo has recently made a significant attack on the problem of ascertaining

the degree of association of group identification with other characteristics of locality groups.¹¹ If, as his analysis indicates, group identification is more highly associated with the number of kinds of institutional and organizational services than with other indexes (number of transportation and communication services, number of kinds of professional services, number of kinds of commercial services, and percentage of families living within the area who claim the locality name), it may be possible to substitute this factor for group identification. Certainly if further investigation along this line should yield a higher correlation than this first effort by Mayo, such substitution might very well be warranted.

The difficulty of relying on Mayo's findings at the present stage, however, lies not only in the none-too-high correlation (fair degree of association only) which he found between group-identification ratings and number of kinds of institutional and organizational services but also in two other considerations. The first is a theoretical one, namely, that a locality with many different kinds of institutional and organizational services is likely to have too large a population to have a high degree of group identification, even though it may not exceed the limits of "rural." This is based on the assumption that the highest degree of identification is that which one would find in the ideally constructed primary neighborhood. This assumption regarding the scaling of group identification is, of course, open to challenge. Secondly, in Mayo's study of Wake County (North Carolina) locality groups, as in the three studies discussed earlier, the group-identification ratings were admittedly somewhat subjective. In view of these considera-

tions, it appears that what is needed at this stage is more effort along the lines of Buck's investigation, with careful consideration being given to the definition of group identification.

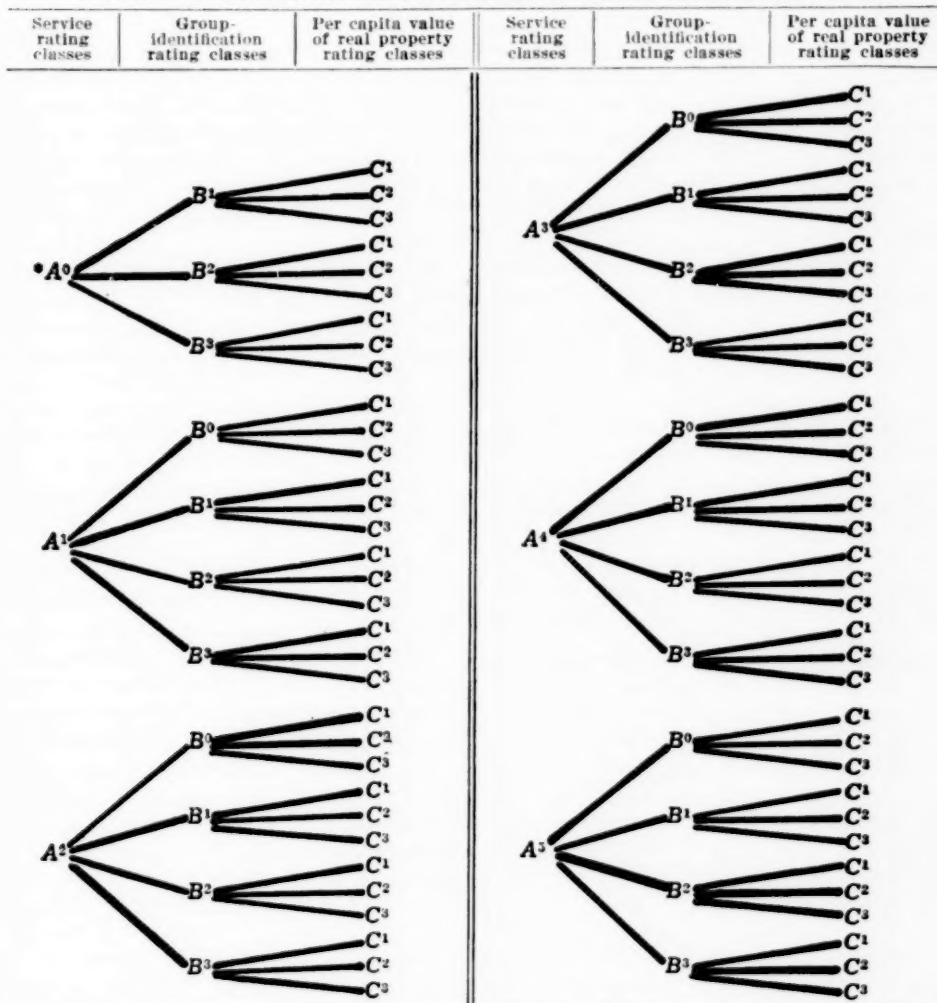
EXPANSION AND REVISION OF THE PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

Expansion and revision of the classification scheme which has been described is needed. A number of possible factors might be experimented with, either for the purpose of adding others to the two already used or for revising the scheme by substituting more significant and easily rated factors for those used in it. Some of these factors are: population of service center or of entire area, population density, area, the cumulative character of binding ties, number of kinds of formal organizations, integration of organizations and institutions, real property tax base, distance of members to service center, position in a system of locality groups, and morphological characteristics. All of the factors listed here, except the last, can be quantified in one way or another and can, therefore, be scaled. Investigations such as Mayo's should make possible the elimination of some of these or lead to their being substituted for one or the other of the two characteristics of the classification scheme which this paper has proposed; thus, population of service center would probably have a sufficiently high correlation with number of kinds of services that either it or service rating could be discarded as a classification factor. However, these studies in association of factors cannot at this stage substitute for the research on group identification which has previously been urged, although together with it they may ultimately make possible the elimination of such research.

Of course, the objective to be sought is a system of a limited number of really significant factors—probably

¹¹ Selz C. Mayo, "Testing Criteria of Rural Locality Groups," *Rural Sociology*, 14:4 (Dec., 1949), pp. 317-325.

CHART 1. ILLUSTRATIVE DIAGRAM OF LOCALITY-GROUP CLASSIFICATION SCHEME



*A⁰: B⁰: C¹, C², C³ omitted from this classification scheme because it would be impossible to identify a locality group which had both zero service and zero identification rating.

LEGEND:

Symbol

Service Rating

- A⁰ No services
 A¹ 1-4 kinds of service.....Low service
 A² 5-15 kinds of service.....Relatively low service
 A³ 16-49 kinds of service.....Medium service
 A⁴ 50-99 kinds of service.....Relatively high service
 A⁵ 100 or more kinds of service..High service

Group-Identification Rating

- B⁰ No group identification
 B¹ Low group identification
 B² Medium group identification
 B³ High group identification
- } At present determined by indirect methods.
 Gradations on basis of group-identification test may be possible.

Per Capita Value of Real Property Rating

- C¹ Under \$500.....Low value
 C² \$500-\$999.....Medium value
 C³ \$1000 and over.....High value

not more than three (especially if significant associations with other factors can be established)—although for special studies a number larger than three may be desirable. If too many basic factors are used, the system becomes unwieldy and demands an enormous number of localities for final classes to have any significant number of cases. Thus, if only six levels of service and four levels of group-identification rating are used, twenty-three final classes are possible.¹² If a third factor with three rating levels is added, the number of final classes possible will rise to sixty-nine (Chart 1).

The practical value of locality-group classification might very well be the subject of another paper, which should have as its major emphasis the assessment of the relative significance of various classification factors. In view of the current interest in community planning, it appears that a system of

locality-group classification based on a limited number of significant factors would greatly help both the local people and the state and national agencies offering them assistance. Development of objectives within the range of possible attainment would be more likely if a locality group could see itself relative to others, in terms of basic characteristics.

Undoubtedly most researchers in the field of locality groups recognize the need for a fundamental attack on the problem of locality-group classification. The mere gathering of data about communities and neighborhoods may have its values from the standpoint of case studies, but fundamental analysis is seriously handicapped without basic classification of the phenomena studied. The significance of case studies is probably in direct ratio to ability to identify cases as representative of classes.

The task of developing a useful and valid classification scheme for locality groups cannot be done by individuals working alone—it must be done by a group of researchers. At some time in the future, it would be highly desirable to hold a series of workshops for the purpose of collectively attacking this problem.

¹² Six levels of service would include a "no-service level" in addition to the five used in the Frederick, Goodhue, and Hamilton County studies; four levels of group identification would include a "no group-identification level" in addition to the three used in these studies. The latter would be paradoxical from the standpoint of locality group, but is conceivable for some service areas. At least provision should be made for it in the classification scheme.

SOME PROBLEMS OF CONSENSUS DEVELOPMENT

by Henry W. Riecken†

ABSTRACT

Both experimental and observational studies of small face-to-face groups have shown that emotions and their expression affect the process of arriving at agreement among members. The way in which a group handles such an emotional problem as inter-member hostility is related to the norms governing the expression of hostility and also to group solidarity. Certain research findings cited indicate that a tabu on expressing hostility in order to maintain solidarity may bring about false or superficial consensus. The notion of "boundary conditions" is introduced to describe variation in clarity and explicitness of the tolerable limits of conduct, in the consequences of violating these limits, and in the extent to which a violation can be retracted or amended (reversibility). The mode and degree of expressing emotion in a group seems to depend upon the boundary conditions obtaining. Unclear limits, ambiguous consequences following violation, and irreversibility will result in difficulties in the achievement of genuine consensus in a group.

Groups of human beings who engage in discussion and attempt to reach consensus on the issues at hand inevitably face a variety of obstructions and difficulties. One class of such obstacles—namely, emotion and its role in small group behavior—is particularly interesting and has received comparatively little attention in the sociological literature, although this topic has lately attracted the attention of social psychologists. This paper covers some recent research on emotional manifestations in small groups and the relationship between emotional phenomena and the achievement of consensus.

In the following pages, "consensus" means explicit agreement among a small group of people on a decision or course of action. "A small group" refers to a collection of interdependent individuals, all of whom at least are aware that each of the others exists and is to some extent involved in the discussion, decision-making, or action.

Such a group, setting out to arrive at a decision, is immediately faced with problems of communication. One is

likely to think of problems of communication as exclusively cognitive—that is, as if they had to do simply with thinking, not feeling. But even such difficulties as semantic confusion, or lack of adequate information, may have emotional consequences. For example, the absence of a common referent of discussion may produce a situation in which one or more members of the group take deviant positions and, thus, become isolated from the rest of the group. This point can be illustrated by an experiment conducted by Norfleet and Goodenow,¹ in which a semantic confusion was deliberately produced by giving partly similar and partly different information to one member of a three-man group. These experimenters took three college freshmen at a time and set them the task of discussing and determining a solution for an ethical-moral problem in human relations. The experimenters gave each of the subjects a "case history" of a boy-girl relationship. Two of the subjects received identical "case histories"—the story of a young man

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¹ Barbara Norfleet and Robert Goodenow (unpublished paper, 1949), Department of Social Relations, Harvard University.

and woman, students at the same college, who had fallen in love, been virtually engaged for several years, and were devoted to each other. The young woman was pregnant by her fiancé. The problem to be decided was whether the young man should marry her, over and against the wishes of his parents who would refuse to support him financially during medical school if he did marry. The question was: What should Jim do?

But for the third subject, the case had a different aspect. The names and localities were the same, and as much of the detailed phrasing of the data as possible was the same. But the girl was presented not as a loving fiancée, but as a woman of low morals who had, in effect, seduced the young man and was now accusing him falsely of responsibility for her pregnancy. In addition, the couple were miserably unhappy. The question again was: What should Jim do?

One can imagine the confusion as the three subjects discussed the problem. But the consequences are even more interesting. At first the two who shared the same story argued vociferously with the third man. Gradually they began to be angry, then disgusted, and finally they ceased to talk to him or to listen to him. They continued the discussion between themselves, ignoring what he might have to say. Thus, the group not only lost whatever contribution the third man might have, but also, the very behavior that caused his isolation and rejection became the barrier to his incorporation and, thus, to the removal of the misunderstanding. Consensus was effectively blocked because one member of a group was isolated and could not break out of his isolation to repair communication.

It may seem surprising that only one of the subjects (in twenty groups run this way) saw through the deception. The deception was possible, of course,

only because of the isolation of the man who was misinformed. Perhaps the same sort of semantic misunderstanding or lack of coordinated information about the object of discussion is at the root of many international political and economic debates that "break down."

It seems quite clear that the expression of hostility may interfere with the development of consensus; but a somewhat more obscure topic is the idea that the inhibition of such emotion may equally well blockade agreement.

There are some observations on this point made by Tom Main and Marie Nyswander,² psychiatrists who spent some time at the National Training Laboratory for Group Development. They observed several groups engaged in discussing the behavior of groups and noted that the discussion was far from orderly and rationally direct; the group did not go straight to the goal and, in fact, sometimes circled the area like a wounded seagull, talking sometimes of the most irrelevant and minor matters for varying lengths of time before they met what was, to an observer, the central difficulty.

Psychiatrists are well trained to deal with such matters, not only because they encounter irrational behavior daily in their patients, but because they ordinarily share a theoretical point of view that asserts that no behavior is random. All action is motivated, the theory says, although the motivation may be obscure to the analyst and, indeed, to the behavior. That is, there are unconscious motives. Patients ordinarily erect defenses, themselves unconscious, against threatening or anxiety-provoking experiences. A major form of defensive strategy is

² Tom Main and Marie Nyswander, "Some Observations on the Third National Training Laboratory in Group Development," NTL document (mimeo), Bethel, Maine (1949).

heightened sensitivity to, or avoidance of, situations that are likely to have anxiety-provoking power. Thus, a patient who has unresolved Oedipal conflicts may stay away from all relationships with older men in a superior status, and, in serious cases, may even be unable to discuss, with equals, his feelings toward his boss.

On several occasions, Main and Nyswander observed that when a group engaged in irrelevant discussion there was an atmosphere of strain and tension among the members. Discussion was likely to be dull, sporadic, hesitant; there was no spontaneity in the group. Topics would be suggested, pursued briefly and half-heartedly, and then dropped. Yet, when the leader or another member attempted to draw the group back to the main issue, there seemed to be difficulty in so doing. There was always another problem that had to be solved first. Finally, the psychiatrists noticed that, following these periods of lusterless and aimless discussion, there would usually be some sort of emotional storm in the group, some sort of expression of strong feeling (often hostility) that seemed to clear the air, to resolve a problem which had been facing the group but which it either could not or would not tackle immediately. Interestingly, all of the members seemed genuinely surprised by the emotional scene but relieved and happy afterward. Furthermore, such problems usually involved interpersonal relations among the members of the group, some evaluation of group activity, or simply a difficult problem whose resolution so taxed the capacities of the members that they found it threatening.

Main and Nyswander interpreted the phenomena they observed to mean that certain kinds of behavior are "symptoms of tension," which "seem to be attempts on the part of the group to preserve itself as a united whole in the

face of a threat to its integrity." In short, there are group defense mechanisms, analogous to those of an individual.

To some, this interpretation may sound like the rattle of bones in the old grave of the Group Mind, and one may wonder if psychiatrists are going to take up the hunting of social ectoplasm where the psychologists left off. But it is not necessary to invoke the group spirit to explain these observations. Apparently what these psychiatrists mean by their interpretation is that when members of a group are faced with a possibility of evaluating their own activity negatively, of reprimanding or punishing a group member, of admitting they have failed to face and solve a serious problem, it is very likely that several members of the group will perceive this unpleasant situation arising—they will see the storm coming. They probably will not fully and consciously weigh consequences of taking logical and appropriate action. They will not go through the explicit chain of reasoning to the effect that: "Joe is a nuisance, but if we bawl him out he will be hurt and angry with us and everyone will feel sorry for him and guilty about bawling him out." But they will anticipate just such a chain of events, often unconsciously, and, just as unconsciously, some one of these perceptive members will turn his attention to a substitute activity, a replacement for the anticipated painful situation. Then, other perceptive members will follow his lead because, individually, they also see it (again, unconsciously perhaps) as a way of avoiding unpleasantness. Yet it cannot lead to full satisfaction, since the substitute activity does nothing about the real problem. Thus, a given substitute activity is not appealing for long and is dropped, only to be followed by another one, until such time as the unpleasantness of not facing the real issue becomes greater than

the unpleasantness of facing it, and the storm breaks.³

Although evasive or defensive behavior may prevent a group from making progress toward its explicit goals, these activities are not to be condemned out of hand as "unhealthy." Symptomatic they may be, and they may indicate an underlying problem that the group is avoiding rather than solving. But the group may be doing a healthy thing. It may be that group solidarity is not great enough at the moment to stand the strain of violent emotion; it may be that members' confidence in one another to take a united, mutually supporting stand on the basic issue is not yet great enough. And, in fact, there may not actually be sufficient mutual agreement in the group to make such a stand possible. Main and Nyswander give an example of a defensive maneuver that proved to have positive functional value for a group in just this way: They describe a group in which, during a meeting, a member performed an act that departed shockingly from group standards. After a silence there gradually began to be discussion on how to handle individuals in back-home groups who failed to conform to group standards. It was only after two hours when the group had agreed that deviant members should be handled with support and understanding rather than being rejected and punished that the group tackled the problem of its own deviant member in direct, face-to-face terms. Apparently the strategy of third-personalization of the problem allowed the group to develop sufficient solidarity to meet directly the unpleasant task of self-discipline, with

its attendant threat to relationship with the errant member.

These psychiatric observations seem very acute, insightful, and suggestive for further research both in the mechanisms of consensus and in the sociology of solidarity. Group solidarity, or integration, is closely related to, but not identical with, consensus. Threats to group solidarity have a powerful effect upon the members of any group embarking upon a common enterprise. Not only is it satisfying to have belonged to a successful and well-integrated group, but it is clearly embarrassing and disappointing to members to have a group break up (or down) while engaged in an enterprise. Furthermore, as is generally recognized, almost every group does take pains to maximize its solidarity through various devices including symbols, rituals, indoctrination of standards, rules regarding admission, punishment of deviations, and, of especial interest at the moment, rules regarding the inhibition of aggression among members—a tabu against civil war on the national scale, and on the domestic plane, against beating one's spouse. Such tabus on aggression may materially strengthen solidarity but they do not always promote good consensus. This can be illustrated by some data on the conduct of members of two kinds of group where inter-member aggression is fairly strictly repressed—a family unit and, on a larger scale, a summer work camp of college-age men and women.

Some time ago the writer undertook some research for an organization that conducts a number of social welfare and service programs. One such program is the organization of groups of volunteers who set up a temporary camp for about eight weeks in the summer in a distressed or underprivileged area—such as the slums of a large city, a poor coal-mining village, or some other depressed area. There

³ This is the writer's own interpretation of what Main and Nyswander mean by their statements about group symptoms of tension, but it seems to explain matters satisfactorily without the use of a "group mind."

the members of the work camp engage in a physical labor project that will benefit the local community. In principle, they also administer their own internal affairs, through a simple and pure form of democratic organization which requires that all decisions be made by consensus of the entire group. Voting is almost never employed, and the existence of a minority or dissenting subgroup within the deciding group is not acceptable. If, after considerable discussion, a determined minority still disagrees, the problem is shelved and no decision recorded or action taken. One further and very important group standard in this organization is a strict tabu upon violence or aggression. Not only will many adherents of the organization refuse to bear arms or engage in other physical violence, but also they will abstain from coercion in any form, on the ground that coercion—whether physical, social, or psychological—does violence, in effect, to the human spirit. In such a group there are also, by extension, strong sanctions against verbal hostility and even against unsympathetic criticism. Not all members of the work camps belong to or fully subscribe to the tenets of the sponsoring organization. Yet most of them feel morally obligated to abide by its principles while they are in its service. Furthermore, the director of each camp is ordinarily a fully convinced member of the sponsoring body and, in effect, acts as its representative in the camp. He is therefore looked upon as an authoritative source of doctrine, and, since a minimum of written doctrine exists in this organization, the director is likely to be almost the only source of norms.

In the course of eight weeks of close and intensive cooperative work, recreation, housekeeping, and self-administration, a group of twenty-five fairly heterogeneous individuals who have met for the first time are likely to

develop frictions, antagonisms, and downright dislikes for some aspects of each other's conduct. The members of the camp studied did in fact develop such dislikes but found it difficult to air them because of the tabu on hostility. It was difficult for individual members to bring their hostile feelings out into the open during the administrative meetings of the campers; yet they were continually urged to speak frankly by the director, who led the discussion. On the few occasions when mild feelings of hostility were aired, they were almost always accompanied by vigorous protestations on the part of the speaker that he or she was not accusing, condemning, or otherwise being hostile to the object of his complaint. These "misunderstandings" were rarely ironed out thoroughly, and certain strained interpersonal relationships persisted throughout the camp season. The camp director, both by his manner and by his overt actions, indicated that the expression of hostility would be disturbing to him. For security in his role he depended upon maintaining a harmonious surface in the camp. Furthermore, he succeeded in establishing, as an institutional norm, that something more than mere harmonious neutrality should prevail—there should also be a strong group spirit or sense of solidarity.

There were three interesting consequences of the simultaneous tabu on aggression and emphasis on developing positive solidarity. First, there tended to be apathy during administrative meetings at which decisions were made. Camp members did not seem to be able to influence decisions as much as one would expect. More than half of the seventy decisions made during the nine administrative meetings of the camp were either initially advocated by the director or had his strong support, although management of the group was supposed to reside in the hands of the campers.

Furthermore, there were eleven instances of re-decision, two important policy problems being re-decided three times without there having been any gross changes in the facts of the situation. Rather, the occasion for re-decision was the failure of members to follow the policy that, in effect, the director had decided. Secondly, there tended to develop small cliques of people who liked each other and who in clique privacy complained to each other about non-clique members and about the administration of the camp. Thirdly, these cliques, which developed primarily out of the frustration of expression, were the occasion for a considerable discussion at one meeting, held after four weeks of camp, where it was decided that a "get-acquainted" or "ice-breaking" party would be held by and for all personnel so that group solidarity would be heightened and cliques weakened.

All this leads to the conclusion that consensus cannot be achieved by fiat, by iteration of the value of solidarity, and by the inhibition of feeling. But it also leads to a further insight into problems of consensus. In the work camp example, certain boundary conditions on action are evident. Similar conditions may obtain in other groups as well, but perhaps not so clearly.

"Boundary conditions" refer to the clarity and explicitness with which the limits of tolerable action or conduct are laid down, and also the consequences of violating these limits. The Army regulations regarding the conduct of a soldier supply an example of a clear set of boundary conditions. Here the restrictions on behavior are explicit, as are the graded punishments for various violations. Furthermore, reversibility of behavior is possible. That is, a single violation does not disrupt the soldier's relationship to the army (except in a temporary fashion), nor does it prevent him from being considered a good soldier if his future

conduct is within bounds. Moreover, the consequences of boundary violation are limited and finite, as well as being known, and they are, therefore, subject to something like rational calculation.

The opposite situation is represented by Calvinistic doctrine, under which humanity may be divided into two classes—the elect and the damned. It is not clear what the dividing line is in terms of specific human action, nor is it clear what the consequences of being damned are (although they are, apparently, huge). Lastly, there seems to be irreversibility. One cannot enter the kingdom of the elect after having once been damned.

Obviously, any precise metric is impossible here; but certain social relationships seem to be more like the army case and others more like the religious case. To put the matter in more general terms, in some relationships it is not clear what may be done without fear of violation, nor is it clear that once a violation has taken place it can be undone, so to speak. Lastly, it is not certain what the consequences of violation are, and this absence of structuredness in the area of "punishment" can provoke anxiety.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising to find that participants in the relationship are unwilling to test the limits of permissible action, to find out what the consequences are and whether or not there is reversibility. One might predict, therefore, that in such relationships, when there was a difference of opinion and, at the same time, pressure toward agreement, there would occur an agreement without genuine working through of the real differences. In short, one would probably observe some sort of surface harmony while genuine differences were repressed but continued to exist.

In the work camp example, there were ambiguous boundary conditions because of widespread ignorance of

how much autonomy of decision campers had, how closely they should follow the director's wishes, and what the consequences of losing his approval and good will would be.

Ambiguous boundary conditions can be found in many other kinds of groups. One group of especial interest to sociologists is the family unit, or, more narrowly, the husband-wife dyad, who are faced with consensus problems in an acute form. In a family form that specifies status-equality for husband and wife, a predominance of influence on the part of one member can have disruptive consequences. Yet the boundary conditions are ambiguous. The limits of dominance (and therefore of threat to the other's security) are not specific, the consequences of violation of limits are not clear, and irreversibility may set in at any time—that is, one partner may commit an "unforgivable" act. Under these conditions we should expect to find, again, unwillingness to test the limits. But differences of opinion may exist and consensus has to be achieved. What may happen? One kind of outcome may be illustrated by referring to the observations of Fred Strodtbeck⁴ who studied husbands and wives achieving consensus in three cultures.

Strodtbeck proceeded as follows: He asked a husband and wife to think of three other couples, well known to them. He then presented the subject husband and wife with a list of questions, such as: "Which couple has the happiest children?" and "Which family is the most ambitious?" and instructed them to choose one of the three reference couples in answer to each question. Husband and wife did this task separately and then came together afterward and tried to reconcile differ-

ences in choice and come to final consensus on each item.

Strodtbeck studied ten husband-wife pairs in each of three cultures: Navaho Indians, where the wife tends to be the dominant member of the family and her dominance is culturally supported; a group of rural white Texans among whom husband and wife have equal status; and, last, a group of rural Mormon families where the dominance of the husband is acknowledged and culturally supported. He thus has a scale, so to speak, of family structures in which the status of the husband is institutionally low, equal, and superior, compared to that of the wife. As he expected, he found that Navaho husbands won 42 per cent of the decisions that had to be reconciled through discussion, the Texan husbands 55 per cent, and the Mormon husbands over 60 per cent. But, even more interesting was the finding that the variance of the difference between husband-won and wife-won decisions was greatest in the two extreme groups and smallest in the Texan group. In other words, when a Navaho wife or a Mormon husband won more decisions than the spouse, he or she was likely to win many more, whereas the margin of victory was much smaller among the Texans. An independent observer, examining the protocols, made the following comments: "Among the (Texans) the tendency is to try to win more than your spouse does—but not too many more. Keep 'em balanced, and if your spouse gets mad let him or her win a few. And always win by logical argument," that is, not by simple assertion that you are right.

The writer interprets these findings in terms of the boundary conditions of the husband-wife relationship, as follows: In the Navaho and the Mormon cultures, the superior status of one spouse is culturally supported, and the boundary of tolerable dominance by this spouse is such that he or she can

⁴ Fred L. Strodtbeck, "A Study of Husband-Wife Interaction in Three Cultures" (doctoral dissertation, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1950).

win by a considerable margin without disrupting the relationship. But in the Texan family, as in most white American families, whether rural or urban, there tends to be considerable emphasis on equality of the partners. The limits of dominance are narrower, and in decision-making behavior, as in many other behaviors, there are very strong strains toward maintaining the balance of power pretty much at a fifty-fifty level. Hence, as the observer noted, "Keep the decisions balanced, and if your spouse gets mad, let him or her win a few." Where equality is prescribed, the power problem is acute. It is more important to keep a balance of power than to come up with the "correct" answer. It is more important to maintain family solidarity than to achieve a genuine consensus. Why? Because of the possible consequence that the relationship will be disrupted, and the possibility of irreversibility. If one spouse feels that the other has violated norms of conduct, the injured party can, in the nature of the marital situation, engage in various strategies to prolong the punishment of the delinquent, and great unpleasantness can result. If the injured party feels that what the other has done "is making a wreck of our marriage," the disruption may be an enduring and serious one. In short, a violation may be irreversible.

To be sure, the example of decision-making just given is not likely in most cases to lead to violent quarrels and disrupt marriages. On the other hand, the distinct willingness of one spouse to forego "correctness" of decision in favor of solidarity points to the same

sort of serious problem about consensus that was mentioned earlier—namely, the appearance of agreement in order to maintain solidarity of the group. In short, the "consensus" that is reached in many cases is nothing but "an agreement not to disagree."

Is this a "good" consensus? It is not, if the area of conduct under discussion has enduring or serious consequences for any of the participants in a group. An agreement not to disagree is likely to mean simply that the ultimate decision, the true consensus, is either to be deferred or is impossible. On the other hand, is the sort of "false consensus" a useless thing? By no means, as we have already seen. For it may be simply an intermediate step, a temporary equilibrium that will suffice to maintain solidarity until the strength of the group can grow to a point where a real consensus on the point can be reached.

But there is one more lesson for group management that can be drawn from this material. Wherever possible, it should be the aim of the leader of a group to create and maintain a "permissive" group atmosphere—an emotional climate where differences of opinion and even hostility to another member can be expressed, discussed, and handled openly rather than being repressed and, thus, a persistent source of dissatisfaction to the member. In short, there should be an emotional climate of mutual confidence and warmth, in which some of the warmth, at least, may be the heat of disagreement. It is perhaps the usual rather than the unusual case that concord is achieved through discord.

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION*

by Carl E. Ortmeyster†

ABSTRACT

Certain areas of conceptual agreement in studies of social stratification are reviewed. It is proposed that stratification research include an analysis of the recognition by the members of any community of differing strata and classes in terms of contrasts in the "expected" behavior of persons from different categories when they interact in a complex of social situations. The chief conceptual proposals for such an analysis are: (1) A person is in a category if it is recognized that there are others who would "act like him" in "the same kind" of situation. (2) Any category in a system of two or more categories is superordinate if its members are "expected" to exclude subordinate categories from some types of interaction, to manipulate or direct them in other types of interaction, and to nurture or assist them in other types of interaction. (3) Complementary "expectations" for subordinate categories refer to being excluded, manipulated, and nurtured. (4) Strata are accommodated to such complementary "expectations" and classes emerge from strata as opposing action groups appear, seeking support to change or reestablish these complementary "expectations."

INTRODUCTION

The objective in this article is to bring together a number of theoretical and empirical generalizations already extant in sociological literature in a more systematic framework for the analysis of stratification in the processes of social interaction. Such a framework may simultaneously differentiate and interrelate social strata and classes. It may not apply exclusively to what have been defined as strata and classes,¹ nor does it, by any means, exhaust the theoretical implications of stratification. Definitions of analytical terms in the framework are of the

"finger-post" variety,² that is, one who uses them points in the direction of characteristics of classes and strata even while he seeks to avoid imposing an extreme precision on such social interaction as may be unstructured or in rapid flux.

Most of the similarities and divergences in definitions of concepts associated with social stratification have been amply documented.³ Since the purpose here is not to classify definitions of "classes," only what seem to be areas of agreement need be noted.

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¹ For a discussion of this method of relating analytical concepts to empirical phenomena, see Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill), pp. 34-35.

² T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1950), pp. 87-89.

³ Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton, N. J.: University Press, 1949), pp. 12-26; Marshall, *op. cit.* pp. 86-113; Milton M. Gordon, "Social Class in American Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55:262-268 (1949); Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," *American Sociological Review*, 15:216-222 (1950); Llewellyn Gross, "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54:409-421 (1949); Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis, "Some Problems of Stratification Research," *Rural Sociology*, 16:17-29 (1951).

Social stratification refers to some type of hierarchical ordering of statuses or positions among members of a group. Often there is a direct statement or an implication that the indexes of the social statuses involved in a stratification system are social values which may be measured in linear terms, and which are unequally distributed among group members. For example, one finds mention of such presumably continuous variables as length of residence in a community, amount of schooling, and "prestige" value placed on occupations, houses, kin groups, and residence areas. On the other hand, many variables related to stratification may have discrete rather than continuous distributions, e.g. occupations, clique and association memberships, kinship connections, being "on relief," and sometimes residence areas.⁴ Most empirical studies refer to strata and classes as more or less distinguishable categories in a hierarchical relation to each other.⁵ Finally, there seems to be general agreement in empirical studies that some complex of interrelated factors rather than a single factor must be analyzed in order to discover social classes.⁶

APPROACH TO STRATIFICATION

In the writer's proposed approach, analysis is directed toward factors which are already copiously illustrated but not, it is believed, systematically analyzed.⁷ A presupposition is that strata and classes may be defined in

part as some types of regularities in social interaction, that is, the sequences of behavior of persons toward each other and symbolic categorizations of the self with others or toward others. It is hypothesized that distinguishable hierarchical categories may exist, but it is granted that stratification systems may also exist which are best defined by a continuous range of interperson differences rather than by discrete categorical groupings. It is further hypothesized that categories will appear in a stratification system to the extent that their "separateness" is maintained by some types of identifiable social processes and attitudes in the group observed.⁸

The framework for analysis is based on the assumption that classes and strata in an interrelated system are identifiable or defined, in important part, in terms of (1) interrelations between members of different classes in those situations where each acts as a "representative" of his class; (2) salient discrete attributes of the behavior of these "representatives." From this viewpoint, classes and strata exist in the same analytical system when there is a widely shared "stereotyping" of group members into contrasting categories, the crucial analytical contrasts being viewed as differentiating "expected" interaction where the actors "represent" categories.

Attention is directed to four general questions in this framework:⁹

- (1) How may one identify behavior in social interaction (including

⁴ For an analysis of further implications for stratification research of a distinction between continuous and discrete variables, see Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-412.

⁵ For criticism of the "separateness" of classes in two rural communities, see Duncan and Artis, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-25; Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. AES Memoir 260, 1944), p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷ The framework to be described will be used in a proposed study of stratification in a Midwestern town and its trade area.

⁸ The evidence for such processes and attitudes consists almost entirely of verbal behavior in which an informant describes interaction (including isolation) in situations involving persons "representing" two or more strata.

⁹ These questions have too complex connotations to be answered decisively. Discussion of them, however dogmatic some brief statements appear, should be taken as tentative suggestions for research problems.

- symbolic interaction) which refers to categories of persons as functionally involved in the sense that similar behavior is "expected" of them?
- (2) What sorts of categories derived from the observation of social interaction shall be termed strata and classes?
 - (3) What types of interaction between "representatives" of different categories shall be used, in part, in deciding whether or not any given categories are strata and classes?
 - (4) Can one construct a theoretical stratification system based on discrete categories and the interrelationships between these categories such that one can point to demonstrable features of social interaction in a group from which the system is derived?

Categorizing behavior, as an aspect of social interaction, is behavior in which the actor refers to a collection of persons "as if" he expected them to act similarly in some type of social situation designated by the actor. "Hired men won't do a good, honest day's work anymore," "Those people in — church don't associate with ordinary folks," and "Lawyers run the legislature in this state" are examples of categorizing behavior in which categories are defined by the behavior of their members in types of social situations.¹⁰ Such terms as "Reliefers," "Tops," "Oldlanders," and "Dirt Farmers" are names which seem to refer to

categories discovered in various studies of social stratification. Since the persons categorized are thought to act similarly as individuals, any reference to individual differences among a number of persons is not behavior which ascribes common category membership to them. Any behavior which ascribes differentiated roles integrated into some pattern of group activity does not assign the interacting persons to a category. These, however, are theoretical distinctions referring to characteristics of behavior toward others and should not be reified as mutually exclusive empirical types of social interaction. For example, an informant may categorize a number of "Old Settler" landowners in a community as "controlling" the nominations of officers in a farm organization even while he affirms that most "Old Settlers" look to one or two of their number for suggestions about such nominations; that is, categorizing and role differentiation and integration may be specified almost simultaneously in empirical social behavior.

Both by convention and by the logic of their analyses, students of stratification have narrowed considerably the range of types of categories which are regarded as strata and classes. Socially ascribed categories based almost entirely on age and sex differentials have been excluded. "Racial" and ethnic categories, and categorized segments within kinship, economic, political, religious, and other institutionalized associations, almost without exception,¹¹ have been excluded. Affirmatively, hierarchically categorized segments have been studied in locality

¹⁰ These expressions also illustrate problems of the vagueness of category memberships and of exactly what behavior is expected in what situations. Directed questioning of an informant from the group studied may clarify such vagueness in part, but one runs a risk of "pushing" clarification beyond its previous existence in the verbal "perceptions" of participants. Perhaps the hypothesis that vagueness of boundaries is empirically "realistic" needs more consideration.

¹¹ Vogt refers to two ethnic categories—"Yankees" and "Norwegians"—as having superordinate-subordinate interrelations but does not designate the categories as social classes. See E. Z. Vogt, Jr., "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology*, 12:365 (1947).

groupings at least large enough to include varied institutional and special-interest groups, that is, communities.

The search has been, furthermore, for hierarchical segments that would be evident in social interaction within or among several varieties of local institutional associations, kinship groupings, and special-interest groups found in a community. As is well known, the types of locality groups usually studied have been towns and cities, sometimes with their surrounding open-country populations. Criteria which differentiate categories (or intervals on a continuum), but are not perfectly correlated with stratification differences, include occupation, income and its sources, house size and upkeep, residence area, land tenure, farming methods, kinship group placement, formal education, degrees and types of participation in associations, and a host of shared verbal and other habits loosely called "morals" and "manners."

The variety of these criteria found to be correlated with classes and strata, the differences in the emphasis that various students put upon one or another of them as predictors of stratum and class placement,¹² and the difficulties encountered in discovering a "unique solution to the problems of the number of classes and of setting the boundaries between classes"¹³ suggested to the writer that perhaps some theoretically de-emphasized aspects of

these empirical studies could be investigated. May the referents in social interaction of such strata interrelational terms as "hierarchical," "superior: inferior," and "superordinate: subordinate" be analyzed and empirically identified in more precise terms than "general standing" or "ranking"?¹⁴ Does the community under study have one or several stratification systems, and may one safely "lump" several systems from the standpoint of their demonstrably operating in the same array of interactional situations? May some stratification systems be truncated, in that most adults in a community recognize the "expected" categories and behavior but many do not participate in the situations in which a given system operates? May the ascribed categories in some systems have vague boundaries with reference to persons as behavioral "wholes" but more definite boundaries with reference to the "expected" behavior of persons in specified types of situations? May a collection of persons be categorized with reference to one type of situation and differentiated in various ways with reference to other types of situations? Possibly situationally differentiated stratification systems are characteristic, at least of rural communities in commercial farming regions of the United States. Finally, may some stratification systems be viewed by community members as coterminous in extent with a local community while others are viewed as segments of the social organization of a region or nation or "most small towns"? If so,

¹² Cf. M. M. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, 2nd ed., rev. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 97-98; *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated, edited, and with an introduction by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 181-183, 186-187; W. Lloyd Warner and associates, *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), pp. 294-295; Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Centers, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217; Vogt, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366; Duncan and Artis, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

¹³ Duncan and Artis, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁴ Gordon, in discussing the use of a pattern of variables for the delineation of social classes, makes the significant point that such a pattern should "reveal itself empirically in the actual social divisions of the community . . . It would be of greater value (than constructing a pattern *a priori*) to search for the social divisions in the first place." Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

what is the "territoriality" characteristic of any given system?¹⁵

IDENTIFYING STRATA BY THEIR INTERRELATIONS

It is proposed that some typing of the behavior toward each other, which is "expected" of persons who are viewed as "representative" of different categories, is crucial in theoretically defining the given categories as strata and classes and in tracing the situational operations of a stratification system. The following orientations¹⁶ of members of superordinate strata and classes toward members of subordinate strata and classes seem to be more or less typical in illustrations of such behavior:

1. *Circumscribing and excluding orientations.* The actor describes a relationship between categories in which the members of at least one category "expect" to exclude members of other categories from specified types of roles-in-situations. Many empirical studies, especially those by W. Lloyd Warner and his students, have abundantly illustrated this orientation. There is a focus in these studies on categorical exclusion from those types of situations where interaction is continuous and involves such a variety of goals that formal rules for "expected" behavior do not develop to guide on-going interaction—e.g., marriage, repeated home visiting, friendship cliques, or situations where sudden shifts in roles may emerge from inter-individual competition.

2. *Manipulating orientations.* The actor describes a relationship between

categories in which members of at least one category "expect" to control the initiating of interaction, the redefinition of roles-in-interaction, and the termination of interaction with members of other categories. This orientation may be traced through a summary of Marx's theories. However, it is tied there to a distinction between ownership and non-ownership of productive property as a condition for manipulation and for class distinctions.¹⁷

3. *Nurturing orientations.* The actor describes a relationship between categories in which members of at least one category "expect" to aid members of other categories in performing what the former believe that the latter regard as valued roles-in-situations. This, by allusion, is a "Lady Bountiful" or *noblesse oblige* or alms-giving orientation. Combined with placing a value on individual initiative from the "nurtured," it is expressed in "helping them to help themselves."

The researcher, it is believed, may get important clues to the empirical existence of a category type of stratification system by searching for evidence of the interweaving of these three orientations between categories. Particularly, such evidence may be useful in pointing toward more specific characteristics of social interaction which establish and maintain a hierarchical arrangement of categories. In one such type of interweaving, members of one category may "expect" to:

- (1) Manipulate members of another category in some situations (employers hiring, promoting, and firing employees, or landholders specifying farming practices to tenants).
- (2) Exclude members of the same

¹⁵ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1950). See chap. 1 (esp. p. 5) for the theoretical elements of a social system.

¹⁶ Orientation, as the term is here used, refers to any actor's conception of his "expected" behavior toward others in a situation and of their "expected" behavior toward him. Such conceptions are derived chiefly from verbal behavior recorded in various social stratification studies.

¹⁷ Bober, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-101. Illustrations from material in another study will be described briefly following the presentation of the theoretical framework.

category in other situations (employers or their wives or children supporting exclusion of workers or their wives or children from residence areas, offices in associations, close kinship ties, etc.).

- (3) Nurture members of the same category in yet other situations (support for Community Chest agencies in areas of workers' homes; a farmer's taking the sober, industrious hired man "into the family").

If the relations between categories include no regular activities in which authority or command is specifically associated with certain roles in a bureaucratic structure (e.g., work groups among neighboring farmers, or "voluntary" activities in a community composed chiefly of merchants, farmers, and independent professional people and their families), interstrata or interclass behavior may be little characterized by manipulation. One would have to investigate the more sporadic situations, where directing roles are assigned or assumed, to estimate the extent to which manipulating as well as excluding and nurturing orientations characterize the behavior of members of one category toward other categories. The nurturing orientation may be evidenced little where intercategory relations are such that members of the manipulated category remain "faceless" to those who manipulate the face-to-face manipulators, e.g., relations between landowners and field gangs in some types of agriculture.

A conceptualization of a stratification system completes the framework. While conceding that there probably are such systems in which the orientations are directed chiefly toward individuals or family groups rather than broader categories, the writer wishes to detect and study the operations of systems in which *categories* are viewed by informants as the *operating units*

for differentiating "expected" behavior. A *stratification system* in which such categories may be termed *strata* exists when the members of one or more categories "expect" to manipulate, exclude, and nurture the members of other categories in some complex of social situations interrelated by the operation of the system within an inclusive locality group. In such a system, the superordinate categories are established to the extent that evidence is found that their members "expect" to manipulate, exclude, and nurture; conversely, the subordinate categories' members "expect" to be manipulated, excluded, and nurtured. *Strata* in the system merge into *classes* to the extent that persons identifying themselves with the subordinate strata begin and carry on collective action to resist and change the orientations of the superordinate strata; and, conversely, to the extent that persons identifying themselves with the superordinate strata carry on collective action to maintain the superordinate orientations.¹⁸ Classes, in turn, merge into *strata* to the extent that such class action is dispersed or shifted to objectives other than opposition to each other as "representatives" of classes. Also, subordinate categories may cease to resist collectively the manipulating, excluding, and nurturing orientations of the previous, or a changed, superordinate category.¹⁹ It may be that relatively rapid technological change and population shifts, along with emphases on individual "initiative" and "equality of opportunity" ideals, are associated

¹⁸ A phrase such as "behavioral expressions of orientations" is not used, since orientation refers to a conceptual organization of selected characteristics of observable on-going activity, not to an "inner" drive which tautologically "explains" behavior.

¹⁹ Strata and classes refer to empirically interwoven aspects of interaction processes, not to sharply differentiated "stages" in such processes.

with more or less continuous emergence of class action in strata systems. If so, one may find several categories highlighted in the behavior of informants by the activities of class action groups and the classes and orientations which they purportedly seek to establish or maintain. In such a milieu one may also find that class and strata boundaries, so far as recognition is concerned, are amorphous and shifting.

SUMMARY

This is an attempt at descriptive analysis of those aspects of social interaction which indicate strata and classes and the operations of stratification systems. Schematically, it is proposed that:

- (1) Categories are collections of persons who are "expected" to behave similarly in identifiable types or complexes of social situations.
- (2) Categories are operational segments within a stratification system to the extent that the members of one or more categories (superordinate) "expect" to exclude, manipulate, and nurture the members of other categories (subordinate) in an identifiable complex of situations in which the system operates. Since such systems denote theoretically abstracted characteristics of social interaction, any person or group may have categorized, differentiated, and integrated characteristics simultaneously.
- (3) Such categories are strata to the extent that collective action is not undertaken (a) by groups identified with subordinate categories to resist and change the orientations of superordinate categories, (b) by opposition groups identifying with superordinate categories to maintain existing orientations.
- (4) Classes emerge in a stratification system to the extent that such opposition groups form and enlist the participation in collective action of members of the subordinate or superordinate categories.
- (5) The framework may perhaps be generalized to groups other than communities and to involve categories defined by age, sex, or "racial" and ethnic similarities.

Research materials illustrating this theoretical framework are scattered in the literature, hence are fragmentary. It is hoped that such illustrations at least indicate a possibility that the operation of stratification systems may be traced, if not the precise boundaries of categories or the dominance of a single system in a community.

One major illustration²⁰ has been selected because it seems to illustrate conveniently the main features of the theoretical framework, not because it is necessarily "representative" of interaction patterns in American communities.

"The Mill" in "Jonesville."²¹ Various members of the management describe resentfully the "interference" by labor unions and "the New Deal" with their controls over hiring, promoting, and dismissing workers.²² Class action by unions and management is suggested.²³ The acceptance of manipulation along with the acceptance of nurturing from management by some older workers

²⁰ The writer has compiled from the literature a list of more fragmentary illustrations of various concepts in the framework which can be supplied on request to researchers.

²¹ Warner and associates, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-114; 217. "The Mill" employs over one-third of "Jonesville's" employees (p. 101). No implication that the authors would place an exactly similar interpretation on their extensive data is intended.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 113.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

and their families is also suggested.²⁴ The exclusion of workers from managerial positions is traced.²⁵ From the evidence that members of management are placed in the investigators' "upper" and "upper-middle classes," one may at least speculate that there are parallel exclusions of workers from some non-vocational clubs.²⁶ One may also speculate that a stratification system which operates, in part, in "the Mill" extends, with modified characteristics, to "Jonesville's" surrounding farm population,²⁷ especially to the "Yankee" ethnic category. "Squire farmers" participate in "upper" and "upper-middle class" clubs, but others do not. Some evidence indicates that the tenant farmers and hired hands, termed "Dirt Farmers," are excluded from land purchases; but it is possible that many landowning farmers outside the "Squire Farmer" category would approve of such exclusion.²⁸ Forms of "expected" manipulation of "Dirt Farmers" by "Squire Farmers" and other landowners are not traced, nor are the "expected" nurturing orientations of "Squire Farmers" illustrated. Finally, the defining of a category of financiers in larger cities outside of "Jonesville" as manipulating the management of "the Mill" is suggested.²⁹ This indicates a possibility that a stratum entirely outside a local community may be involved in a local stratification system, and that class action may also be directed at the "top" from outside a community.

The writer has chosen to reserve any attempt at presentation of hypotheses

and methods of procedure, pending the results of a study now in progress. However, a few concluding questions may indicate the possibilities of developing hypotheses:

- (1) May there be nation-wide strata and classes (as viewed by persons in a local community) for which the category memberships in the community and the techniques for maintaining intercategory orientations are markedly different from those in strata and classes viewed as coterminous with the local community? How are these stratification systems interrelated in community interaction?
- (2) How are the activities of more temporary "interest groups" in "publics"³⁰ interrelated with class action and interstrata relationships?
- (3) How is the interstrata mobility of persons affected by class action to change and to maintain a stratification system?
- (4) How are culturally shared definitions of approved and effective ways of realizing goals in various areas of interaction (e.g., educating children, earning income, marrying, relating oneself to deities) related to differences in frequency of class action in various areas?

³⁰ Herbert Blumer writes that the term "public" refers to a group of people who are divided in their ideas about how to meet an issue which confronts them and who engage in discussion about the issue. Interest groups function within a public, using discussion and argument, to promote various proposals for resolving the issue, to organize the support of less active "spectators," and to block activities of rival interest groups. See Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," Part Four of *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, edited by Alfred McClung Lee (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1946), pp. 189, 191-193.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106; also see p. 217 for illustration of interwoven nurturing and manipulating orientations.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-114.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-134.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-249; 250-253.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

THE RELATION OF DISTANCE TO THE DIFFERENTIAL USE OF CERTAIN HEALTH PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES AND TO THE EXTENT OF BED ILLNESS*

by Paul J. Jehlik† and Robert L. McNamara††

ABSTRACT

This article seeks to analyze the relationship between the distance that farm families reside from certain health personnel and facilities and (1) the incidence of bed illness at home among those families and (2) the use of such health resources. The analysis is based on information obtained on 1,947 persons, 15 to 64 years of age, in 858 farm-operator households. The data are from 10 counties of a 20-county sample used in a survey of morbidity in contrasting socio-economic areas in Missouri. Generally, it was found that persons who live at the greater distances from certain health personnel tend to have a lower physician-call rate and more days of bed illness than those relatively nearby. No clear-cut relationship between distance to hospital and incidence of bed illness at home was found. The findings have implications for the development of any public or private health programs and suggest consideration of distance as one of the factors in the location of health personnel.

INTRODUCTION

In any discussion of the utilization of physicians and hospital facilities, questions arise with respect to the relationship of various factors to their use. A usual consideration in use or supply is the population per physician and the hospital facility ratio, expressed in terms either of the number of units of such personnel and facilities per unit of population or the number of persons per physician and facility. Obviously, these measures are gross at best, as the ratios are not in themselves evidence that all sectors of the population make uniform use of the health resources at their disposal. Use of gross ratios often obscures variations of considerable size and importance.

The purpose of this paper is to test the hypothesis that the distance farm people reside from certain health personnel and facilities is related inverse-

ly to the use they make of such personnel and facilities, and positively to the incidence of bed illness at home among these people.

SOURCES OF DATA

Among the studies that have been planned to provide estimates of the relationship between availability of health personnel and facilities and the extent of bed illness among persons in farm households, few have been specifically designed to provide data that would show the relationship of distance to the use of health resources and to the number of reported bed illnesses.¹

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¹ Among the few studies that have included a distance control in the analysis are: Charles R. Hoffer, *Health Needs and Health Care in Michigan*, Michigan State College AES Special Bull. 365 (East Lansing, June, 1950), pp. 21-22; Harold F. Kaufman and Warren W. Morse, *Illness in Rural Missouri*, Missouri AES Research Bull. 391 (Columbia, Aug., 1945), pp. 32-33; C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, *The Rural Health Facilities of Ross County, Ohio* AES Bull. 412 (Wooster, Oct., 1927), pp. 12-20; and T. C. McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in South Central Arkansas*, Arkansas AES Bull. 313 (Fayetteville, Dec., 1934), p. 29.

Information obtained during the course of a survey of morbidity, conducted in 1949 in a sample of Missouri farm households, made possible such an analysis. Included in the information obtained was an account of bed and non-bed illnesses occurring during the first 90 days of 1949 among survey persons 15 to 64 years of age.

For the morbidity study, the farm population was sampled in two areas—one in the northern and one in the southern part of Missouri. Each area consisted of ten contiguous counties which had been delineated as a homogeneous unit with respect to mortality, health practices, level of living, and other factors that might condition or reflect the extent of illness in a local area. Geographically, the two groups of counties represent different sections of the state; they also represent different socio-economic strata of population.²

The northern area had an estimated total population of 136,604, of which 47 per cent were farm people. The estimated population of the southern area was 103,433, of which 63 per cent were farm residents.³ The level-of-living index of farm-operator families in the northern area was 111; the index for the southern area was 84.⁴ An exami-

nation of the age and sex distributions of the population showed no statistically significant differences in the population of the two areas.⁵

In each of the counties there were from two to ten incorporated centers, but there was no center as large as 10,000 people in either of the two areas. Although none of the households was at such a distance from an incorporated center that it was disadvantaged thereby, unimproved roads prevailed in many parts of the southern and in some parts of the northern area.

With respect to certain health personnel and facilities,⁶ the number of people per physician was 870 in the northern area and 1,478 in the south.⁷ There were four small registered general hospitals with only 82 beds in the northern area, and no registered hospitals in the south.⁸

The sample for the morbidity study consisted of 656 sample segments, which yielded a total of 1,554 survey households. This represented 6.25 per cent of the total sampling units, and approximately the same proportion of the total qualifying farm population universe in each of the twenty counties. A total of 60.3 per cent of all

² Counties in the northern area were: Caldwell, Daviess, De Kalb, Gentry, Grundy, Harrison, Linn, Livingston, Macon, and Ray; in the southern area, Benton, Cedar, Dade, Hickory, Maries, Miller, Morgan, Osage, Polk, and St. Clair.

³ Data for total population from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Preliminary Count, 1950 Series PC-2, No. 44; data for the farm population from U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1945. County table 1, Parts 1 and 2.

⁴ *Farm Operator Family Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1940 and 1945*, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Washington, D. C., May, 1947), pp. 21-22. Similar types of indexes are not available for the rural nonfarm and urban population.

⁵ Chi-square for age distribution = .184, d.f. = 2; for sex = .220, d.f. = 1.

⁶ The number and location of medical doctors in the selected counties were obtained from the listing published by the Missouri State Board of Medical Examiners, June 15, 1949. Similar data for osteopathic physicians were obtained from the *Directory of Missouri Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons for 1948*.

⁷ Ratios of population per medical doctor in the two areas, respectively, were 1,485 and 2,463 persons.

⁸ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 143:1 (Hospital Number), May 6, 1950.

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLDS AND PERSONS STUDIED, BY AREA AND BY DISTANCE TO PHYSICIAN

Distance to physician	Households				Persons			
	North		South		North		South	
Miles	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	469	100.0	362	100.0	1,092	100.0	855	100.0
Under 5.....	186	39.7	117	32.3	426	39.0	281	32.9
5 and over..	283	60.3	245	67.7	666	61.0	574	67.1

open-country households qualified for interview.⁹

ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

For analysis of the distance factor, five counties were selected at random from each of the two morbidity study areas. Thus, the 6.25-per cent sampling ratio was maintained. As the exact residential location of each of the survey households was known, as well as the location of the nearest medical personnel and facilities whether in or out of the county of residence, distance to physicians and hospitals was readily established. Distance, measured to the nearest mile, was computed by following the most direct route from residence of interviewee household to the nearest physician and hospital. By this procedure, distances as determined were at a minimum, and no allowance was made for households whose members must travel greater distances to the physician or hospital of their choice. As information relative to preferences was not obtained, interest here centered first about the location of

health resources nearest the households, and second, about certain aspects of the illness record.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Two-fifths of the households in the northern area and one-third in the southern area were less than 5 miles from a physician (Table 1). On the other hand, about three-fifths of the northern and two-thirds of the southern households were 5 or more miles from a physician.

Concerning proximity to a registered hospital also, households in the northern area were more favorably located than those in the southern area (Table 2). Three-fifths of those in the former and fewer than one-fifth of those in the latter were within 25 miles of such a hospital. In the southern area, everyone had to go outside the survey counties for services at a registered hospital. One in three had to go at least 40 miles.

Although not all persons who reported illness would be expected to require physicians' care, it is assumed that greater proportions of persons confined to bed would require professional health services than would those reporting non-disabling illness. Fifty-five per cent of the survey households in the northern area had one or more contacts with a physician during the 90-day period covered by the study. In the southern area, about 50 per cent had such contacts. The physician-call rates per 1,000 persons for the two

⁹ Farm-operator households, as defined for purposes of the morbidity study, were those whose heads spent no more than 120 days in off-farm work, whose farms consisted of at least 3 acres, or who derived \$250 from own farm operations, and within which households there were one or more persons 15 to 64 years of age. For a more complete discussion on the selection of the morbidity sample, see Research Notes, *Rural Sociology*, 15:1 (March, 1950), pp. 63-64.

TABLE 2. HOUSEHOLDS STUDIED, BY AREA AND BY DISTANCE TO NEAREST REGISTERED HOSPITAL

Distance to hospital	North		South	
<i>Miles</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Total.....	469	100.0	362	100.0
Under 10.....	84	17.9	—	—
10-24.....	202	43.1	64	17.7
25-39.....	132	28.1	179	49.4
40 and over.....	51	10.9	119	32.9

areas were 1,283 (north) and 1,249 (south).¹⁰ (See Table 3.) In the north, 18 per cent, and in the south, 28 per cent of the households reported one or more persons 15 to 64 years of age as having had one or more days of bed illness during the period of study. The rates per 1,000 persons were 676 (north) and 1,315 (south) days. As physician-call rates were practically identical for the two areas, the call rate per 1,000 days of bed illness in the southern area was slightly over half as great as that in the northern area, or 1,024 as compared with 1,898. In both areas the volume of physician calls per 1,000 days of bed illness was high-

est for those in close proximity to a physician.

When the rate of days in bed per 1,000 persons was related to distance to the nearest registered hospital, no clear trend of increase or decrease in rate was indicated (Table 4). A partial explanation lies in the fact that there is not as much choice between whether a patient shall or shall not be taken to a hospital, as is the case in whether or not the services of a physician shall be used.

CONCLUSIONS

The data presented generally support the hypothesis that as the distance that farm families reside from a physician increases, the incidence of bed illness at home likewise increases.

It is not suggested that increase in distance is solely associated with increase in illness, but that many other factors are involved—among them the

TABLE 3. PHYSICIAN CALL RATES, BED ILLNESS RATES, AND RATES OF PHYSICIAN CALLS TO DAYS OF BED ILLNESS, BY AREA AND BY DISTANCE TO A PHYSICIAN

Distance to physician	Physician calls per 1,000 persons		Days bed illness per 1,000 persons		Physician calls per 1,000 days of bed illness	
	North	South	North	South	North	South
<i>Miles</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
Total.....	1,283	1,249	676	1,315	1,898	1,024
Under 5.....	1,361	1,395	570	1,178	2,388	1,184
5 and over.....	1,227	1,174	743	1,382	1,651	849

¹⁰ Physician calls include those made at home, office, clinic, and hospital. Illness, as used here, refers to days of bed illness at home only, and is exclusive of hospital bed days, days of non-disabling illness, and days of disabling illness not sufficiently serious for bed confinement.

TABLE 4. BED ILLNESS RATES, BY AREA AND BY DISTANCE TO HOSPITAL

Distance to hospital	Days bed illness per 1,000 persons	
	North	South
<i>Miles</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
Total.....	676	1,315
Under 10.....	517	—
10-24.....	781	1,204
25 and over.....	624	1,200

socio-economic status of the families. The socio-economic factor and others are now being studied to determine their relationship to incidence of illness among farm families in Missouri.

An inference from these data meriting further study is that families living at the greater distances from physicians tend to limit physician calls largely to curative rather than preventive purposes.

The data give little evidence to support the hypothesis that the distance families live from a rural hospital is positively associated with the incidence of bed days of illness at home.

Further study is needed to determine the extent to which farm people use rural hospitals for emergencies and critical illnesses only. If such is the case, distance would be a factor of minor importance.

For the universe studied, the analysis indicates that distance becomes an important consideration in understanding the extent to which farm households make use of professional services, and that it is related to extent of bed illness. The implications of the findings are apparent for the development of any public or private health programs with objectives of more logical location of health personnel.

INTRA-FAMILY FARM SUCCESSION PRACTICES

by James D. Tarver†

ABSTRACT

The farm transmission or succession practices employed by 636 Wisconsin "century farm" families are analyzed in this paper. Ownership of each farm has been handed down to descendants of the first owner for a period of at least a century—1848 to 1948. These 636 farms have been transferred a total of 1,458 times, or an average of 2.3 transfers per farm. Sons became subsequent owners more often than daughters or collateral descendants. Out of 1,458 transfers, 74.6 per cent were to sons, 3.6 per cent were to sons and daughters jointly, 14.5 per cent were to daughters, and 7.3 per cent were to relatives other than children. Statistical tests of significance revealed that the sibling order of sons who succeeded their fathers was not important in determining which one acquired ownership, except in the case of five-son families.

Few rural sociologists have studied farm ownership in relation to its succession or transmission within families.¹ Knowledge concerning the methods of farm transfers and to whom they are made is limited. This paper contributes research evidence on two aspects of the farm transmission process as it works in families: (1) Whether farms are more often transferred to sons, to daughters, or to collateral descendants,² and (2) whether farms more often pass to the oldest son, to the youngest son, or to a middle son. In other words, is the order of birth of sons important in determining which one acquires ownership of the family farm?

SOURCE OF DATA

This study analyzes data from 636 of the 910 Wisconsin farms which, in 1948—the centennial year of statehood—had been owned by single families 100

years or more. One hundred and thirty-six "century farm" owners made no response to the questionnaire, and, of those who did respond, 18 were excluded for owning less than 15 acres of land; 24 were excluded because they had sold their farms; and 96 were omitted because their histories of farm transfers were incomplete.

There were 910 century farms reported in Wisconsin, but there is no way to determine the completeness of this enumeration. The farms analyzed are considered as a random sample of all Wisconsin century farms and also a representative sample of the universe. This sample, however, is assumed to be neither a random nor a representative sample of all Wisconsin farms.

ARE FARMS MORE OFTEN TRANSFERRED TO SONS, TO DAUGHTERS, OR TO COLLATERAL DESCENDANTS?

In any discussion of farm succession, the reproductive behavior of farm owners is one indispensable phase that cannot be omitted. If an owner has no children of his own and desires to keep the farm in the family, he has no choice but to transfer the farm to some other relative. Or, if an owner has only daughters, it is quite obvious that he cannot pass the farm to a son. Salter stated the importance of repro-

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¹ Two notable exceptions are: Edmund deS. Brunner, *Case Studies of Family Farms*, Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life (New York, undated); and H. W. Spiegel, "The Altenteil: German Farmer's Old Age Security," *Rural Sociology*, IV (1939), pp. 203-218.

² As used in this paper, the term "collateral descendants" means all relatives other than sons and daughters.

duction in relation to farm succession when he wrote:

"Another force that is also as close to 'natural' as human behavior can be is the number, age, and sex distribution of farmers' children. Some farm families have no children; others have many children; some have daughters and no sons. Some farmer parents have children early in life and some have them later in life. These observations are commonplace, but what needs to be emphasized is that these vagaries of life do not balance off and cancel one another as we are prone to assume when we seek large numbers of them for purposes of calculating quantitative averages. Quite to the contrary, in the realities of human existence, these various human elements are *cumulative*. If one farmer has no children and another has a great number, rather than signifying that on the average the two have a few children, the implications for social evolution are that in both cases, the oncoming operators of these farms will have to begin to buy the capital value of the farm—in one case because the aging farmer will sell it off in the absence of prospective related operators and in the

other case because there are numerous related demanders for the property."³

The 636 farms were classified according to the blood relationship of each present owner to the preceding owners (Table 1). Five hundred and thirty-eight farms were transferred from an owner to a son or daughter or to sons and daughters jointly in each generation (Class I). In at least one generation, 98 farms passed to a relative other than a son or daughter (Class II).

These 636 farms have been transferred, or have changed legal ownership, a total of 1,458 times, an average of 2.3 times (Table 2). By far the most frequent type of transfer—occurring 1,087 times out of 1,458—is that of an owner to a son, or to sons. In 902 of these conveyances, the owners had both sons and daughters at the time the farm was handed down. In 185 cases, the owners had no daughters but one or more sons.

In 212 cases, the farms were conveyed to a daughter, or to daughters.

³ Leonard A. Salter, Jr., *Land Tenure in Process*, Research Bulletin 146, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station (Madison, 1943), p. 35. (Italics in the original.)

TABLE 1. 636 CENTURY FARMS CLASSIFIED BY RELATIONSHIP OF PRESENT OWNERS TO ALL PRECEDING OWNERS

Class	Type	Description	Number of cases
I		<i>Farms transferred to sons or daughters in each generation:</i>	538
	1	Farms conveyed to sons in all transfers of ownership.....	343
	2	Farms conveyed to sons in all but one transfer; in one transfer, farms passed to sons and daughters jointly.....	42
	3	Farms passed to daughters in at least one transfer; in all other conveyances, farms passed to sons.....	125
	4	Farms transferred to daughters in all conveyances of ownership.....	21
	5	Farms passed to daughters in at least one transfer and to sons and daughters jointly in another transfer; in all other transfers, farms passed to sons.....	7
II		<i>Farms transferred to relatives other than children in at least one transfer:</i>	98
	1	All owners had living children at time of transfer.....	30
	2	Owners did not have living children at time of transfer.....	65
	3	Farms transferred to a relative other than children in two conveyances of ownership: In one transfer, owners had living children; in the other, owners did not have living children...	3

In 77 conveyances to daughters, the owners did not have sons, but 135 owners had sons at the time of transfers to daughters. There are only 53 instances of farm transfers to sons and daughters jointly.⁴

In 106 transfers, collateral descendants received the farms. In 37 cases, the owners had living children at the time of conveying their farms; in 69 cases, the owners were childless. Of the 37 owners with children, 24 had both sons and daughters at the time of transfer, 9 had only sons, and 4 had only daughters.⁵

⁴A few widows and widowers were involved in undivided ownerships, but they are omitted from consideration here. It is not known how many of the 636 farms were temporarily owned by estates before one heir bought out the others. The above figures do not take into account all intestate transfers, and it was impossible to obtain this information from some farm owners or even from abstract of title records.

⁵Field interviews revealed that the direct lineal descendants of several owners

As has been indicated previously, the reproductive performance of farm owners sets limits and alternatives for these owners in the possible ways of transferring their farms. There have been 1,458 previous owners of the 636 farms, in addition to the present owners. Out of the 1,458 previous owners, 1,114 had both living sons and daughters, 194 had only sons, 81 had only daughters, and 69 had no children at the date the farm was conveyed to the succeeding owner.⁶

The conclusion can now be drawn that farms are more often passed to sons when an owner has both sons and

⁶See George W. Hill and James D. Tarver, "Indigenous Fertility in the Farm Population of Wisconsin, 1848-1948," *Rural Sociology*, XVI, 4, (Dec., 1951), pp. 359-362.

did not want to own and operate the family farms. In such cases the farms sometimes pass to collateral descendants and sometimes are sold to nonrelated persons.

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF EACH OWNER TO THE PREVIOUS OWNER IN ALL TRANSFERS OF 636 FARMS

Relationship of owner to previous owner	Children of owner at time of transfer					Total transfers
	Sons and daughters	Sons only	Daughters only	Sons and/or daughters	No living children	
Son	902	185		1,087		1,087
Daughter	135		77	212		212
Son and daughter...	53			53		53
Grandson	5	2		7		7
Granddaughter	2			2		2
Father	1		1	2	2	4
Mother					2	2
Brother	6	3	1	10	15	25
Sister	3	2	1	6	9	15
Brother and sister...					4	4
Niece	2	2		4	6	10
Nephew	3		1	4	19	23
Niece and nephew..					5	5
Cousin	2			2	4	6
Grandniece					1	1
Sister-in-law					1	1
Sister's sister-in-law					1	1
All transfers.....	1,114	194	81	1,389	69	1,458

daughters living.⁷ The reason for the more frequent transfer of farms to sons than to daughters seems to reside in the labor requirements of the farming enterprise and not in any favoritism toward sons.⁸ A farmer with both sons and daughters has, of course, the alternative of transferring the farm to a child of either sex; but normally sons do the farm work, daughters the housekeeping. Hence, a farmer usually finds it more appropriate to transfer his farm to a son, who may have farmed with him for several years, than to a daughter and son-in-law.

ARE FARMS MORE OFTEN PASSED TO THE OLDEST SON, TO THE YOUNGEST SON, OR TO A MIDDLE SON?

In a study of farmers living in Wurttemberg, Germany, from 1865 to 1934, Spiegel found that the oldest son acquired the parents' farm about 50 per cent of the time.⁹ In other transfers, the farm was handed down to the youngest son or to another son in approximately the same number of instances. However, in the period 1915 to 1934, a middle son acquired the farm more often than the youngest son, but not so often as the oldest son. The custom of passing the farm to the oldest son—primogeniture—prevailed in parts of Germany at that time.

Another study of farm operators, not all of whom were owners, presents some evidence bearing on the above question. W. A. Anderson's conclu-

sions regarding the transmission of farming as an occupation are:

(1) "*Farming as an occupation is transmitted from father to sons of the present generation (1930 and after) to a lesser degree than from father to sons in the previous generation (1900 to 1940)*";¹⁰ (2) "*Where there are two or more sons in a family and only one of them follows the father's occupation, the oldest son is most likely to follow it.*" (This includes both farm and nonfarm groups);¹¹ and (3) "*In farm families of both generations, where there are two or more sons and only one has followed the father's occupation, the youngest son is more likely to do so than the middle son, but not so likely as is the oldest son.*"¹²

In all transfers of ownership of the Wisconsin century farms, 343 farms passed from an owner to a son (Table 1, Class I, Type 1), and 96 of these farms involved transfers of ownership to two or more sons as "tenants-in-common." The following analysis of sibling order of sons succeeding their fathers is confined to the 247 farms passing to only one son in every generation.

In Table 3, the transfers are classified by the number of sons in each family and the order of birth of sons becoming the succeeding owners of farms. There were six transfers which failed to show either the order of birth or the number of sons, or both. In 122 conveyances of title, the subsequent owner was an only son.

In families having two sons, the older one became subsequent owner

⁷ It should also be noted that farms are more often passed to male collateral descendants than to female collateral descendants (Table 2). So a generalization can be stated that farms pass to sons and male collateral descendants more often than to daughters and female collateral descendants.

⁸ James D. Tarver, "Wisconsin Century Farm Families: A Study of Farm Succession Processes," unpublished doctoral thesis, library, Univ. of Wisconsin (Madison, 1950), pp. 108-112.

⁹ Spiegel, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹⁰ W. A. Anderson, *The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation*, Bulletin 768, Cornell University A.E.S. (Ithaca, N. Y., 1941), p. 16. (Italics in the original.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. (Italics in the original.)

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11. (Italics in the original.) Also see Anderson's two articles entitled, "Transmission of Farming as an Occupation," *Rural Sociology*, IV (1939), pp. 433-448; and *Rural Sociology*, V (1940), pp. 349-351.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF SONS WHO ACQUIRED THEIR PARENTS' FARMS, BY ORDER OF BIRTH OF THE SON ACQUIRING OWNERSHIP AND NUMBER OF SONS IN THE FAMILY (247 FARMS)

The son acquiring the farm was:	Number of sons in the family											Total
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten	Not given	
Only son	122											122
1st son		74	39	15	7	6	2	1				144
2nd son		60	37	14	19	3	3					136
3rd son			52	12	8	1	1		1			75
4th son				22	6	4		1				33
5th son					11	2	3					16
6th son						5	2					7
7th son							5	2				7
8th son									1	1		2
9th son												
10th son												
Order not given											6	6
Total	122	134	128	63	51	21	16	4	2	1	6	548
Chi-square test: $X^2 =$		1.462	3.109	3.603	10.863							
X^2 needed for 5-per cent level of significance ..		3.841	5.991	7.815	9.488							

the more frequently. In the 134 transfers by owners with two sons, 74 of the older and 60 of the younger sons acquired succeeding ownership. This difference is not statistically significant, however, and would occur about 23 times out of every 100 by chance alone.

The youngest sons became subsequent owners most frequently in three- and four-son families. However, the differences are not statistically significant; they would occur by chance 21 times out of every 100 for three-son families and 31 times out of 100 by chance for four-son families, according to chi-square tests of significance.

The only statistically significant difference found in order of birth of sons succeeding their fathers was in five-son families, in which the second son was the most frequent one to acquire ownership. This frequency distribution of sibling order of sons acquiring ownership (Table 3) would

occur by chance only about 3 times out of every 100.

The oldest sons succeeded their fathers most frequently in those families having six sons, while it was the youngest in the seven-son families. Since some cells contained less than five sons (the required minimum number for chi-square tests), no tests of significance were computed for families having six or more sons.

All century farm owners of German descent were sorted out of this group of 247 farmers. There were 84 farmers of German nationality stock. It was thought that if there were any definite patterns of transfer to a particular son, this group would be the one that would show it. It was found that the German farmers passed along their farms in about the same way as the whole group of 247 farmers.

Generally, then, sibling order of sons was not found to be significantly related to farm succession. The reason

for the exception in the case of five-son families is not readily apparent.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

An important caution regarding the interpretation of the data presented in this paper is that the findings do not necessarily apply to all transfers within families. Farms which pass out of a family after one or two intra-family transfers may show an altogether different succession pattern than that of century farms.

This study has shown that century farms were more frequently passed to sons and male collateral descendants than to daughters or female collateral descendants.

The second major conclusion is that order of birth of sons is not signifi-

cantly related to farm succession practices, except in the case of families having five sons, in which the second son acquired ownership more often. There are many possible explanations for this finding. In some families the father is not yet ready to retire when the oldest son is ready to begin farming for himself; so the latter acquires a nearby farm. When the father does reach retirement age, the youngest son is still too young to assume responsibility; so a middle son may succeed his father. It seems plausible that matters such as the occupational interests of the different sons, their ages, health, farm management abilities, and ability to get along with their parents, may be as important as the order of birth in explaining why a certain farm was passed to a particular son.

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

Edited by Paul A. Miller

INFORMAL LEADERS AND INNOVATORS IN FARM PRACTICES

by Eugene A. Wilkenings†

One purpose of a recent study of the acceptance of farm practices and programs in a Piedmont community of North Carolina was to determine the personal-social characteristics of those who were the first to adopt improved practices in the community. Data for the study were obtained primarily by interviews with a sample of 107 farm operators and with 9 additional neighborhood leaders. Information was obtained from each farmer on the adoption of eight different types of improved farm practices, including the year of adoption and the main source of information for each type of practice.

One hypothesis of the study was that the informal farm leaders would be among the first to adopt improved farm practices in the community. Of the 107 sample farmers, over half reported that they went to other farmers for advice on farm matters. This group of 61 farmers gave the names of 48 farmers with whom they discussed their farm problems. Only ten names were given by two farmers or more. These were arbitrarily defined as the informal farm leaders.

To test the hypothesis, the index of improved farm practices adopted by the ten informal leaders was compared with that of all farmers interviewed. It was found that the informal leaders had not adopted a much higher number of improved practices (critical ratio = 1.1) than other farmers. The mean index of improved practices adopted by the ten farmers whose advice was sought on farm matters was 6.1, as compared with 5.3 for the total sample. The conclusion is that those persons whose advice is sought on farm matters have not been far ahead of the average farmer in the community in the adoption of improved farm practices.

While reasons for this finding were not systematically explored, intensive interviews revealed some possible explanations. The first is that these farmers reflect the conservative and traditional values of the community studied. All except one took an active part in local churches, and six had held important offices in their churches in

the past five years. An important function of these local leaders is to preserve and to maintain local group relationships and the values which support them. The acceptance of new ideas, whether in farming or in other areas of life, requires adjustments in the ways of thinking and acting of the members of these groups. The local leader, therefore, is not likely to accept a new idea unless it supports the existing social and cultural system, or unless it is likely to meet with group approval.

On the other hand, the present conservative nature of the local leaders may be a historical fact. Perhaps their present leadership is based upon successes of the past which have given them prestige as "good farmers." It may be that at one time they were innovators in improved farm practices, but have not kept up-to-date in the more recent improvements. This hypothesis is made plausible by the fact that all except one of the ten farm leaders was fifty years of age or more. Furthermore, the records of their farm activities and the interviews with them indicated that they had been successful with farm enterprises and methods developed and accepted many years ago. They were regarded either as "good tobacco growers" or as farmers who had built up their land through established farming methods. They had developed pride in their success with these enterprises and farming methods, and therefore were not quickly receptive to the more recent recommendations of the agricultural agencies. For example, four of this group indicated some disfavor of terracing, but they had conserved their land by other means and had no serious erosion problem.

Since the original hypothesis seemed to be an inadequate explanation of the initial adoption of improved practices in a community, another approach to the problem was tried. An attempt was made to identify those farmers who were the first to adopt certain practices in the community and in the different neighborhoods.¹ The result was a group of six "community innovators" and a group of nine "neighborhood

¹ The term "community" is used here to include the total area of study, approximately the size of a township, while the term "neighborhood" is used to refer to the smaller locality groups within the community, based upon personal acquaintance and identification.

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innovators."² A description of the characteristics of these two groups of farmers, who not only were the first to adopt improved practices but who also had adopted a significantly larger number than most farmers, may suggest more fruitful hypotheses as to the personal-social characteristics of the innovator of farming practices.

The six community innovators and their sons were responsible for introducing terracing, strip-cropping, hybrid corn, permanent pastures, red clover, improved varieties of grain, and dairying into the community within the past twenty-five years. Four of these community innovators had farms of 300 acres or more, four times the median size for the community. One of those with an average-sized farm was a high-school principal. All were among the highest one-fourth with respect to a composite index of socio-economic status. All took active interest in their churches, in farm organizations, and in other community activities. Only one, however, was given by two or more farmers as persons to whom other farmers went for advice on farm matters. All except one were reared in the community, and all were from prominent kin groups.

An important distinguishing characteristic of the community innovators was their contacts outside the community. The one who introduced hybrid corn into the community had relatives in Iowa from whom he obtained the first hybrid seed. The one who was the first to build terraces had a reputation of taking more farm magazines than anyone else in the community. The farmer who introduced red clover and other methods of soil improvement got many of his ideas from an uncle in another community. He was also active in farm organizations and read magazines and bulletins extensively. The farmer who introduced dairying on a commercial scale (but later discontinued it) was a livestock trader and moved into the community from another part of the county. The farmer who started dairying very early, and has continued to be the largest dairy farmer, had several boys who attended the State Agricultural College. He also had relatives in the Midwest. A further characteristic of the community innovators was that they obtained practically all of their information

on the eight improved farm practices considered in the study from agricultural agencies or from the State Agricultural College.

The nine neighborhood innovators were the first to adopt certain improved farm practices in their neighborhoods. These adoptions were made from one to seven years after they had been tried by one of the community innovators. Hybrid corn was adopted by a neighborhood innovator three years after it was first adopted in the community; terracing, six years after; strip-cropping, seven years after; permanent pastures, one year after; seeding alfalfa, three years after; timber thinning, one year after; and dairying, two years after.

The neighborhood innovators tended to have characteristics similar to the community innovators, although they were less uniform and distinctive with respect to those features. This group tended to have somewhat larger than average-sized farms, but only one owned more than 120 acres. All were above average with respect to a composite index of socio-economic status characteristics, but less than half were in the upper one-fourth. Their educational achievements, however, were average, with only three of the nine having had some high-school training and three not having completed grade school. Age was not a distinguishing factor, and their social participation was no higher than average. Only one was active in farm organizations, and only four took an active part in church affairs. Three seldom attended church. Only two were given by two or more farmers as persons to whom they went for advice on farm matters.

As was true of the community innovators, contacts and communications outside the community and neighborhood were characteristic of the neighborhood innovators. Most had either lived outside the community or had spent considerable time away. The farmer who had introduced hybrid corn in his neighborhood had lived in Iowa for several years and had relatives there. The one who introduced terracing and dairying in his neighborhood had worked in an auto factory in Detroit for two years, and his father had lived in California several years. Another who first adopted dairying and permanent pastures in his neighborhood was in World War I. This experience, he said, "got me started to thinking about some things" (pertaining to his farming ambitions). A farmer who introduced the thinning of woodland and the growing of lespedeza on a large scale was a college graduate, taught school, and also read widely. Two others who introduced

²The "community innovators" also introduced new ideas in their neighborhoods, but were not included with the neighborhood innovators. The "neighborhood innovators" were the first to introduce new ideas in their neighborhoods after they had been introduced into the community.

lespedeza in their neighborhoods got their ideas from nearby neighborhoods, one by virtue of moving from another community; the other had relatives in another community.

A distinguishing feature of the neighborhood innovators was that they almost always gave agricultural agencies, farm magazines, or other extra-community sources for information about improved farm practices. Only two gave neighbors as their main source for any of eight improved practices. There is no evidence, except in the case of dairying and strip-cropping, that the neighborhood innovators got their ideas from the community innovators for particular practices. The only difference with respect to sources of information of the community and the neighborhood innovators is that the community innovators were influenced by contacts with the State Agricultural College and the agricultural agencies, while the neighborhood innovators were influenced more by contacts with relatives and other farmers outside the community as well as by the local agricultural agencies.

Probably the most important distinction between the community innovators and the neighborhood innovators is their stability in the community. With one exception, all of the community innovators were reared in the community and were of well-known family lines. One might reason that, because of their stability in the social structure, the adoption of new practices would not likely jeopardize their standing in the community. They were known and accepted as successful farmers, hence were in

a better position to initiate new practices without jeopardizing their social or economic status.

Those who first adopted practices in their neighborhoods, however, were less secure economically and socially. They owned less land, and most had some experience of spatial or occupational mobility. The neighborhood innovators were also characterized by a desire for higher status, as reflected by direct and indirect statements to that effect, by changes they had made in their tenure status, by improvements made in their homesteads, and so on. Hence, for this group, it appears that the lack of social and economic security rather than its presence is associated with the adoption of new and improved practices. In their desire to improve their economic status, they were willing to face the criticism and "talk" of neighbors and to try methods and practices which gave promise of greater return. Their extended social contacts provided both the stimulus and the sources of information for adopting these practices. The pride which these innovators displayed in their new ventures was evidence that many had attained their goal of greater prestige and status as well as economic return.

The above discussion suggests fruitful leads for further study. *First*, what is the relationship of informal neighborhood leadership to the adoption of improved farm practices under different economic and cultural conditions? Perhaps the failure of leaders to initiate the adoption of improved practices is found only where neighborhood

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FARMERS, INFORMAL FARM LEADERS, COMMUNITY INNOVATORS, AND NEIGHBORHOOD INNOVATORS, BY INDEX OF IMPROVED FARM PRACTICES ADOPTED*

Index of improved farm practices adopted	All farmers in sample (N = 107)	Informal farm leaders (N = 10)	Community innovators (N = 6)	Neighborhood innovators (N = 9)
9 and over.....	18	1	5	3
7 or 8.....	15	5	1	3
5 or 6.....	32	1	—	1
3 or 4.....	20	2	—	1
Less than 3.....	22	1	—	1

*The practices included in the index and the weights assigned were as follows: the use of hybrid corn (1), the use of fertilizer on corn at planting (1) and top dressing (1), the seeding of permanent pasture (1), applying phosphate on pasture (1), contour planting of row crops (1), the use of purebred male (1) and female (1) livestock, the adoption of a secondary source of income (2), the keeping of farm records (1), and making woodland improvements (1).

and kinship ties are strong, as in the community studied.

Second, what are the social and psychological characteristics of the "innovators"? A hypothesis suggested by this study is that the initial introduction of new ideas into a community is made by those of relatively high socio-economic status who have contacts outside the community for obtaining information about new practices. The subsequent introduction of these ideas into the neighborhoods or smaller locality groups is made by persons who aspire to higher socio-economic status, and who also have important contacts outside their locality.

Third, what effect does the adoption of improved farming methods and practices have upon one's position of leadership in the community? Loomis and Beegle find that under certain circumstances the poten-

tial leader may lose his following when he is brought into relationship with a new social system.³ Perhaps this helps to explain why the innovators are not usually accepted local leaders in farm matters. On the other hand, this paper suggests that a position of leadership may lead to a conservative point of view when that leadership is not specifically identified with the adoption of new programs or practices. These findings suggest that leadership with respect to agricultural programs must be considered from the standpoint of its function in the socio-cultural system and the tensions produced in that system when new programs (or systems) are introduced.

³ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 687.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Charles E. Lively

Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology. By Rudolph Heberle. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951. Pp. xiii + 478. \$4.00.

The author intends this book "to present a general sociological theory of social and political movements . . ." It "is not a history of social movements but a systematic and comparative treatise . . ." The starting point is a general discussion of the sociological approach to the phenomenon of social movements with special reference to the earlier formulations of Lorenz von Stein, Karl Marx, and Werner Sombart. For Heberle, the properties of a social movement involve "a commotion, a stirring among people, a collective attempt to reach a visualized goal . . . [with] a sense of group identity and solidarity . . . required." The social movement is characterized by a set of "constitutive ideas" which form the integrating ideology for those groups that are oriented toward bringing about a new social order. Seen in these terms, the concept becomes selective and discriminates such allied phenomena as trends and tendencies. The central preoccupation of the author is not, however, with social movements *per se*, but with the relationships that hold between social movements and political parties, the latter differentiated as power-seeking groups which may well operate within the context of one or several social movements.

Part II deals with the problem of motivation and what the author calls the social-psychological "texture" of social movements and political parties. Weber's four types of orientation to social action are included, along with a critical examination of the psychopathological and psychoanalytical approaches to motivation. The texture of movements is analyzed in three prototypes: the spiritual community, the charismatic followers, and the utilitarian-oriented.

Part III, termed "The Social Foundations," deals with such significant carriers of social movements as religious groups, status groups, ethnic groups, the American Negro, and social classes. With respect to the latter, Heberle disposes of Warner's classes as "really not classes at all, but classifications by local people of their fellow citizens, according to the degree of esteem and prestige they enjoy in their

town." The author chooses instead to follow and elaborate Max Weber's conception of social classes as consisting of "people in economic classes with like or similar opportunities for social life." Stress here is on the economic factor, and Heberle additionally points out that class antagonism has greatest relevance for the grouping of political parties. The two-party system in America, however, has not been maintained on a strict class basis, although subclasses within the parties engage in intermittent conflict over differences in economic interests.

Part IV is a presentation of methods and techniques for the study of social and political movements. Included is a brief and critical analysis of the use of polling techniques, registry and election analyses, and a rather thorough presentation of the technique the author chooses to call *social ecology*—seemingly a combination of human geography, regionalism, and ecological analysis. In applying this technique, Heberle assumes that (1) geographic characteristics tend to determine economic class structure, (2) class structure tends to determine the general political tenor of the region, and (3) social and political movements tend to arise and persist in the specific regions. Heberle is quick to qualify this assumptive structure with such factors as ethnicity and cultural values, but it remains basically a paradigm for the social ecology method. In support, representative ecological studies drawn from France, Germany, and the United States are discussed *in extenso* with the author's own work used to illustrate the statistical techniques which may be used in these kinds of studies. This section closes with a discussion of the possibility of a "comparative, international ecology of political behavior."

Section V takes up the concepts of structure and organization of social movements, and distinguishes the latter in terms of the channeling and distribution of authority through the constellation of structural elements in such a way that the group or movement becomes a going concern.

The last two sections of the book deal with structural and organizational differentiations and other forms of interrelationships among various types of movements and political parties. Trends and variations of party development in England,

America, Germany, and France are dealt with in one chapter and totalitarian movements and new political "orders" in another. Tactics and strategy, differentiated along lines laid down by von Clausewitz a century earlier, are discussed in their general relevance to social movements and with specific relevance to political and direct action. Here an analysis of communism and fascism is given a special chapter. Revolution and reforms are conventionally differentiated and Sorel's myth of the general strike is taken up appreciatively in the discussion of revolutionary syndicalism.

The closing chapters are concerned with the problems of the formation of consensus, i.e., coordinated goal-striving by compromise-minded members of groups, and the selection of a political elite in various forms of political and social organizations. The conclusion stresses the "game" aspects of political parties operating within a democratic framework, and restates the normative basis of social solidarity along with an implicit warning that repression of attempts of social collectivities to establish a new order of things may well produce an ugly tenor to their whole ideology and an unhappy change in the rules of the "game."

This book should prove an excellent text in courses dealing with social movements. Since texts in this specialty are rare and generally unsatisfactory, this reviewer's elaboration of subject matter should be useful for those who are faced with the problem of text selection. Consensus of students using the book in a course taught by the reviewer was that "it is clearly written and the points are well made."

This reviewer finds no significant drawback to the work. Its comparative approach is fresh and springs from the author's background, training, and experience in European political sociology. It is doubtful, however, if he has produced a general theory of social movements. Many of the points he makes so clearly are differentiating and classificatory rather than generalizing. The methodology seems to emphasize politics, voting behavior, and the ecology of political beliefs. Such techniques are perhaps subsidiary aids in the sociological analysis of social movements. Nevertheless, the language is forthright; the role of economic and material factors is presented with unmistakable clarity. Any bias in this work probably runs in the direction of German scholarship. For the sociologist whose studies of social movements have been circumscribed within the current chronologies of American social

reform movements, the book should prove refreshing, if not instructive.

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Preface to Eugenics. Revised edition. By Frederick Osborn. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. Pp. xiv + 333. \$4.00.

For the sociologist, the most interesting aspect of this presentation is its emphasis on environmental factors as they bear on racial improvement. In fact, the emphasis of the book is much more on nurture than on genetic inheritance as such. This indicates the profound effect of sociological thought in the field of population policy, and of the current welfare emphasis in the field of social policy. Both have come to place the problem of child nurture and development at the focal point of social policy. The emphasis of the book is on democratic programs by which differentials in the birth rate may be corrected.

The early chapters give what is known about genetic inheritance as it affects the capacities and qualities of the race. One section lists and discusses hereditary defects that are little affected by environment; another, defects which are affected by environment in differing degrees.

Some defects are destructive of the individual and are, therefore, short-lived. Dominant traits are observable and, therefore, readily susceptible to social control. It is the recessive traits that are the real menace to the genetic quality of the race, for they are not readily susceptible to social control.

Under a decisive eugenics program, practically all undesirable dominant traits could be eliminated in one generation. The problem of eliminating recessive traits is to reduce births to the minimum among carriers of harmful genes. The challenge to social action in this field is to develop programs to sort out those who carry weak genetic qualities and to reduce their birth rate. This becomes more necessary in our time when defective stocks are protected by so many social measures that there is little natural selection. An aggressive program of social selection must be substituted.

The major part of the eugenics movement must center on social and economic measures which will provide nutrition, medical care, housing, recreation, education, and welfare to help shift the burden of child care from family to society, thus encouraging those with better genetic quality to reproduce themselves without too great material sacrifice. Complementary to

this program is, of course, the universal diffusion of birth control to lower the birth rate of the defective classes.

The improvement of the race lies primarily in helping those with good genetic inheritance to orient their lives about new values, aims, and purposes—to dedicate themselves to the future sufficiently to act as trustees for the stream of life—"the most precious and the most irreplaceable heritage man carries from the past."

PAUL H. LANDIS.

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Human Relations in Administration: The Sociology of Organization, with Readings and Cases. By Robert Dubin. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. Pp. xvii + 573. \$5.50.

Dubin sets out to "distill out of the fund of human knowledge a system of principles—theory, if you will—about human organization." The book is intended to serve both the beginning student and the man of experience. While the author disclaims any intention to produce a "cookbook" of "10 rules for this and 14 steps for that," he does believe that a statement of the principles of organization "would have the utmost practical value to men of affairs."

Among the topics covered are organization as a social system, motivation, informal organization, the executive, foremen, bureaucracy, power, decision-making, subordination, and organization fictions. Readings are included from the works of such men as Durkheim, Simmel, Barnard, Barbash, Roethlisberger, and Whyte, organized in chapters with introductory and transitional passages by Dubin. The large variety of case materials includes, among others, situations from an optical company, a cooperative village, the metal workers' union, and a haberdashery.

Dubin is to be congratulated both for his intentions and his accomplishment. His work exemplifies three desirable tendencies in the best current sociological writing: First, the material was selected for inclusion on the assumption that "language is a means to understanding, not an end in itself." Second, the author has achieved a superior integration of text and readings. Carefully selected readings are fused together by well-written transitional materials. Third, case materials are presented for discussion, and for testing the theory. Dubin correctly argues that "if there is a theory of administration, it should hold good for a wide variety of kinds of organization."

In spite of Dubin's claim that "this book is grounded in research," much of the content lacks a basis in the kind of systematic evidence which carries conviction. The fault lies not in the author but in sociologists generally.

Dubin presents verbatim records of two class discussions of a single case. The differing conclusions reached seem to cause him no concern. In fact, he suggests that a student might take still another approach and come up with a third set of conclusions. The variety of possible interpretations suggests that these sociological "generalizations" are not in fact clearly established, and that sociologists have not had the patience and interest to spell out the finer details on the basis of empirical investigation. Speculation comes more easily with regard to the broad outlines of any social situation, and the speculative sociologist then stands in less danger of being upset by empirical findings.

Encouraging is the fact that there is now available such a wide range and variety of theory which can be brought together in one well-coordinated work. It seems more probable that a general theory of sociology will be achieved by this route than by the route of the system-builders.

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Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied. By Oscar Lewis. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1951. Pp. xxvii + 512. \$5.00.

This review is directed solely to a discussion of the methodology of this study, and for two reasons: first, because the application of good methods is its greatest contribution, and second, because better methods is the great need of anthropological research. As anthropologists shift their attention up the ladder from the simplest toward more complex societies, the greater becomes that need. They should not, as sociologists have done, abandon their objectives to study cultures, societies, and communities as wholes, but they should strive to use all the methods of historical and statistical analysis which sociologists habitually use. Because Lewis has done this, his work is notable. He used the historical, statistical, and case methods. His cases were carefully picked samples which were studied by participant-observer techniques.

Many statisticians would deny that his sampling procedure rose to the level of technical validity or competence. This re-

viewer defends his sampling procedures, and would suggest that those who will criticize them should be aware that precise and mathematically verifiable methods require a much larger body of ready-made statistical data than is available except in the most advanced societies. Such data were not available and Lewis therefore used broad principles to select representative families, then studied them in great detail by participant-observer techniques.

The families were selected to "represent the various socio-economic groupings in the village" by the criteria of their ownership of houses, land, and cattle. Several local informants helped in the selection of three families in each *barrio*. One assistant was then assigned to live with each of the families. He also assisted in taking a skeleton census of the *barrio*. Within the family, each assistant could be an intimate observer and, by means of the census and other data assembled from public and institutional records, a considerable body of quantitative information was developed. The history of the village for a period of centuries was also carefully studied and documented.

The findings are presented in approximately 500 pages of description, photographs, sketches, charts, and tables. The photographs and sketches help the reader to see the people, their homes, modes of dress, tools, community service institutions, field and street network, and topography. The 56 tables and a number of other tabular statements present a respectable body of statistical data. In addition, something approaching maximum use was made of historical materials. Our purpose is to illustrate and appraise the result obtained by the use of these methods.

Anyone who has read many anthropological studies is bound to be impressed with the adequacy of the physical, historical, and demographic setting with which this monograph begins. Anyone who has attempted such a study will appreciate the value of knowing both the history and the relations with "the world outside" of the community he is attempting to analyze. The analyst needs to know these facts to give him "eyes" with which to look for subtle manifestations of their influence in the community, and the reader needs to know them to understand and appraise properly the analyst's interpretations. In this case, such facts were developed by an analysis of the history of Tepoztlan and by a number of tables which fix its relative status in Mexican culture.

The author's use of quantitative data is not perfect. Some tables are presented of which little use is made; others might have been developed by quantifying a greater portion of the participant-observer observations. Data not available in any precise fashion in most anthropological studies, however, prove their value in the analysis. Excellent illustrations are: fairly adequate population data; data on the occupational distribution of the people; quite adequate data on all aspects of land tenure; detailed data on corn production; a table presenting precise data on intermarriage between residents of the different *barrios*; a table on frequency distribution of families on an economic point scale; and one showing the distribution of acculturated habits, by economic groups.

The study of representative families also yielded excellent quantitative data, in addition to furnishing the insights for more qualitative interpretations. Illustrations are "A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepoztecan Family," in half hours for four days; "Typical Weekly Food Budgets of Two Families;" and a seven-day detailed expenditure record of families.

Historical materials were used to assist in many interpretations. The best illustrations are a discussion of the historical influence on religious, economic, political, and administrative behavior and institutions, and on the development of trade and industry.

This reviewer does not believe that every conclusion Lewis reaches is validated by one or all of the methods he used. He recognizes that the report does not indicate that Lewis actually followed through in an analysis of all his representative families. But, he believes that even the imperfect use of his techniques did guard against the type of thing for which he criticizes Redfield—namely, the use of a single conceptual fundamentalism, such as the folk-urban continuum. He recognizes that Lewis is not the first to use these methods, and he doubts that the average anthropologist is competent to make personality analysis. He even recognizes that very little use was made of the findings of the Rorschach Tests, but he is convinced that the study was superbly conceived and exceptionally well executed. The good results were partly due to the length of time given to the project, to fairly adequate financial and personal assistance, and to the author's fluency with the Spanish language; but

they were largely due to the use of superior research methodology.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

United States Department
of Agriculture.

The Modern Family. By Robert F. Winch.
New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc.,
1952. Pp. xxi + 522. \$3.90.

The author starts this new textbook for college classes with the premise that Americans are placing increased emphasis on the personality functions of the family, with relatively lessened emphasis on its traditional institutional functions. This hypothesis exerts a determining influence on the choice of textual materials and on the scheme of organization of the book.

In Part I, the family is defined largely in the Burgess manner as a unity of interacting persons, and the great diversity of family patterns and roles in America and in other cultures is described with pertinent ethnographic materials.

Part II devotes 125 pages to a discussion of changes in family functions. The reference points are the early American rural family and the modern American urban family. The discussion centers around five functions which the author thinks the most useful for his purpose of analyzing the modern American family. These functions are: economic, status-conferring, reproductive, socializing, and security-providing. The conclusion is that the first three of these along with other institutional purposes have lost in relative importance as family functions; the last two, the personality functions, have gained. This does not mean that the family is disintegrating as Zimmerman, Schmiedeler, and others have implied, but that it is becoming adjusted to the conditions of modern urbanized life.

Parts III and IV (pp. 180-467) contain the most important features of this presentation. Here the personality functions of the family are traced through the entire family cycle.

In Part III are analyses of the effect of parent-child relations on the personal and social development of the offspring at the several stages of his growth from dependent infancy to the emancipation and independence of adulthood. In Part IV, the social and emotional history of the youth is traced through the periods of dating, courtship, and engagement, to marriage. Part V consists of a concluding chapter on family organization and disorganization. Here an attempt is made to present for considera-

tion by the student those influences which are tending to disorganize and reorganize the modern family. Whether current trends are good or bad, the author leaves to the judgment of the reader.

This volume is a social-psychological interpretation of the modern family and, for this reason, differs greatly from the books written by institutionalists. The theoretical premises underlying the interpretation are drawn from a number of divergent sources including Freudian psychology, the social behaviorism of Mead, the contributions of E. W. Burgess and others. Fortunately the author did not fall prey to the logical hazards of eclecticism, but has spared the student the confusion of conflicting and inconsistent statements and conclusions.

This book is based on what was evidently a tremendous amount of "library research," and is written in a very readable style. One hesitates to criticize so excellent a work except to say that it is very much oriented to the American middle-class subculture; but the typical college student who wants to learn how the "other half" lives and develops will need to turn to other sources.

A. R. MANGUS.

Ohio State University and
the Langley Porter Clinic.

The Family in Various Cultures. By Stuart A. Queen and John B. Adams. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1952. Pp. vii + 280. \$4.50.

This is a very interesting survey of eleven family "systems" in eleven cultural and historical settings. It is prefaced by a brief introductory discussion of the family as an institution, theories of its origin, and cultural variation. The eleven systems, in the order in which they are discussed, include three so-called "primitive" families, the Hopi, Kwoma, and Alorese; one modern family system very different from our own, the Japanese; and seven which represent "stages" in the historical development, or at least "contributors" to the historical development, of the American family, namely, Ancient Hebrew, Ancient Roman, Early Christian, Anglo-Saxon, Medieval English, English from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution, and English Colonist in America. By presenting comparable data on such factors as the relation between the marriage group and the kinship group, inclusiveness of functions of the family or household group—i.e., the role of the family in economic, religious, educational and

political affairs, modes of marital selection, provisions for divorce or separation, the place of the unmarried, sex mores, status and roles of the sexes, and parent-child relationships in these various family systems—the authors indicate some of the historical origins of family traits in contemporary United States and, perhaps more important, present in brief form a picture of the range of variation in family systems.

The book is designed specifically for "college students and other readers whose interest is real but whose time is limited." It should prove very useful as a reference or supplementary text in college courses in the Family. Its brevity is both an advantage and a disadvantage. To the average student it will be interesting and stimulating reading, but the more serious student of the Family is likely to be disappointed with the highly generalized treatment of the so-called "primitive" family systems and the altogether too brief introductory discussion of the family in contemporary North America.

WARD W. BAUDER.

University of Kentucky.

White Collar: The American Middle Classes.

By C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xx + 378. \$5.00.

"By examining white-collar life," Mr. Mills claims, "it is possible to learn something about what is becoming more typically 'American' than the frontier character probably ever was. What must be grasped is the picture of society as a great salesroom, an enormous file, an incorporated brain, a new universe of management and manipulation. By understanding these diverse white-collar worlds, one can also understand better the shape and meaning of modern society as a whole, as well as the simple hopes and complex anxieties that grip all the people who are sweating it out in the middle of the twentieth century" (p. xv).

In the first part of his book, "Old Middle Classes," Mr. Mills discusses how the change from "democratic property," worked by its owner, to "class property, which others are hired to work and manage," has pushed the independent farmer and small businessman from the center of the American social scene. White-collar workers, who help manage affairs for the "2 or 3 per cent of the population who now own 40 or 50 per cent of the private property in the United States" (p. 63), have replaced the independent enterpriser in fact, if not in

ideology, as representative figure of the American middle class. The old middle-class image, together with its "rhetoric of competition," is now being used, Mills says, as an ideological weapon of big business in its fight against the encroachment of big labor and big government controls (p. 53).

Analyzing the composition of the new middle class, Mills emphasizes that it is stratified along the axis of occupation from "almost the top to almost the bottom" of modern society (p. 64). Office workers are its most populous segment (40%); salaried professionals and salespeople comprise 25% each; and managers make up the remaining 10%, as of 1940. The only common denominator of these groups, according to Mills, is their primary reliance upon occupation rather than property for livelihood, and their successful claim to a prestige higher than that of wage workers.

Mills next characterizes in detail the changes that have occurred in the workaday "worlds" of these various new middle-class groups, by reason of the increasing bureaucratization of labor, business, and government, from roughly 1870 to the present. The subjective implications of these changes in work life are discussed under the headings, "Meanings of Work," "The Status Panic," and "Success." Finally, in the last part of the book, "Ways of Power," Mills analyzes the various possible political roles of the new middle classes. His basic theme in all three sections is that the white-collar, bureaucratically occupied members of the middle class face a tragic dilemma. On the one hand they are doomed by the conditions of their employment to a life of paralyzing insecurity, their efforts harnessed in the service of goals that are personally meaningless. On the other hand they are prevented by their powerlessness, both subjective and objective, from engaging in political action which could effectively alter their life situation. The outcome of this dilemma, according to Mr. Mills, is the "most profound apathy of modern times: a way of life which comprises no acceptance and no rejection, no sweeping hope and no sweeping rebellion" (p. xvi).

In the opinion of this reviewer, *White Collar* is a penetrating and challenging analysis of modern American society that deserves the widest possible audience. There are, however, a few criticisms to be made.

First of all, Mills relies somewhat too heavily upon impressionistic description, rather than on controlled factual research, at crucial points in his argument. Particu-

larly is this true in connection with the postulated dissatisfaction of white-collar workers with the conditions of their work (p. 229), and the postulated political apathy of the white-collar stratum (p. 328). He does, however, make effective use of formal field experience in six middle-sized cities in the Middle West and New England; also, of intensive interviews with office workers in New York City, in connection with his description of such white-collar worlds as "the enormous file," the "great salesroom," and the "managerial demiurge."

More basically, this reviewer would quarrel with Mills's assumption (p. 345) that the malaise of white-collar workers, among many other things, demands for its relief a mass movement "with the will and the chance to change the whole political structure." The problems of the white-collar worker, as Mills himself furnishes testimony, arise out of the need for impersonal control, continuous widening of the sphere of rationality, and improvement of efficiency, consequent upon modern bureaucratic organization. These needs and problems will remain, in any political transformation short of one that abolishes large-scale bureaucracies and with them white-collar workers themselves. Surely we can help the patient short of killing him. Surely we need not tarry, in Max Weber's words, for new prophets and saviors, or for the sweeping political transformations Mills demands (but does not describe) before attempting to solve some of the human problems of a rationalized, industrial civilization.

NAHUM Z. MEDALIA.

Beloit College.

Intelligence and Cultural Differences. By Kenneth Eells, Allison Davis, Robert J. Havighurst, Virgil E. Herrick, and Ralph Tyler. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. xii + 388. \$5.00.

"This work is the first part of an extended study of cultural learning as it bears upon the solution of problems in mental tests." The six major projects in this "extended study" all involve a comparison of performance on intelligence tests of children at the several socio-economic levels. All five authors contributed to Part I, entitled "The Problem and its Setting," in which the findings and problems of re-

search in the field of mental tests and socio-economic differentials are made explicit.

Parts II and III of the book, written by the senior author, present research done by him as his doctoral dissertation. This study is concerned with the responses of white children from the several socio-economic levels to more than 650 items in seven intelligence tests. The tests were given to nearly five thousand pupils—aged nine, ten, thirteen, and fourteen—from the public and private schools of Rockford, Illinois, in January of 1946.

"For the families of most of these children," socio-economic status was determined by a modified form of Warner's index of status characteristics. The range of scores on this index was from 4 to 28, and the cases were divided into three groupings of eight or nine intervals each—high, middle, and low status. The aim was "that the high and low status ranges would be as nearly equivalent as possible to upper-middle-class and lower-lower-class groups." The reviewer seriously questions the value of the attempt to equate the index scores with the "six clearly marked social classes" because he doubts the validity of the latter.

"Correlations between I.Q.'s (or percentile ranks on certain tests) and the index of status characteristics vary with the test used and the age level tested. They are moderate in size (.20 to .43) and are all definitely significant in the statistical sense." When the individual items were analyzed, it was found that about half of the items "in the tests for nine- and ten-year-old pupils and about 85 per cent of the items in the tests for the thirteen- and fourteen-year-old pupils show differences between high- and low-status groups large enough to be significant at the 1 percent level." "Practically all of the items showing unusually large status differences are verbal in symbolism. A substantial number of them involve what appears to be a relatively academic or bookish vocabulary." When status was held constant, little difference was found between the ethnic groups. The greater status differential for the older pupils is partially explained by the nature of the tests. The tests for the older pupils had "a larger proportion of verbal items" and for the younger pupils "a large proportion of picture, geometric-design, and stylized-drawing items."

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.

Mississippi State College.

Next-Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta. By Jean Burnet. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951. Pp. xv + 188. \$4.00.

This study of Hanna, Alberta, is an attempt to trace social organization, community life, population trends, institutional structure, and town-country relations in the semi-arid Plains of Canada. The time span is from about 1910 to the early forties, just before the full impact of mechanization.

During this period "two chief ways of life have been brought to the Hanna area. The first . . . was that worked out in other parts of the continent . . . by predominantly Northern European peoples. The second was the peasant pattern . . . brought to Hanna by German-Russian immigrants. Each for a time appeared to afford the possibility of successful adjustment . . . The instability of [the first way of life] was revealed only with the onset of drought and depression. Then breakdown was rapid. The peasant culture was able to invade the area while the other was disintegrating . . . [and] . . . established itself with seeming ease, even in the difficult thirties. Before completely supplanting the American culture, however, the peasant way of life had begun to show signs of disruption. The signs are the more notable since they are appearing in years of prosperity rather than economic hardship" (pp. 151-152).

Miss Burnet makes a creditable contribution to historical description of rural life on the Plains. She sets forth accurately the schisms between peoples in the Plains area, and points up the problem of disorganization that accompanies these difficulties, especially when population is sparse and leadership, therefore, limited. Hanna has more people than most Plains towns because it is something of a railroad division point and a "stay-over" town for traveling salesmen. But this adds to the disorganizing forces.

Dr. Burnet describes some of the attempts to adjust the institutional structure to the conditions of the Plains. Among these are the substitution of the "Special Area Boards" for the earlier local government, and the enlarging of public school areas, along with school consolidation. She alludes to the inadequacy of the church program and the attempt of the United Farmers organizations to cope with all the problems of the Plains farmer.

The title of the study—*Next-Year Country*—is not fully capitalized on by Miss Burnet. Actually she does not effectively

incorporate the unpredictable and fluctuating character of Plains climate into her social organization analysis. She writes, not as a Plainsman, but as one who has come to study life on the Plains. She soon deserts this Plains reference and dwells at length on ethnic, class, town, occupational, and community aspects aside from their Plains significance. The result is that these aspects receive a weight beyond the scope they deserve.

The chief reason for this unwarranted preoccupation is a methodological one. Miss Burnet relied heavily upon local interview and items from newspapers, chiefly the *Hanna Herald*. These are good sources for local color and local interpretation; but the analysis is left in a welter of circular detail. There is a lack of Plains orientation of these facts. The result is description, largely, with weakness in explanation.

These critical observations on Miss Burnet's methodology are not intended to detract from her valuable contribution. The purpose is to put the study in its proper setting and to indicate the scope of the task still left undone. Just what impact does the "Next-Year Country" have on social organization? And on the Social Credit Movement, too? In this sense, Miss Burnet's study is short of furnishing the necessary backdrop for an explanation of social organization in the "Next-Year Country."

CARL F. KRAENZEL.

Montana State College.

The People of Louisiana. By T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952. Pp. xviii + 272. \$5.00.

This book is the culmination of nearly twenty years of population study in the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University. The authors explicitly attempt in a single volume to advance demography as a science and to write a book that will be used by the inquiring citizen of the state. That they have so nearly accomplished these apparently incompatible objectives attests to the high order of their skill. In some of the chapters the lay reader may be swamped by the multifarious details, although, for scientific writing, the style is unusually lucid and direct.

The essential organization of the present volume was anticipated, if indeed it were not determined, in the 1937 AES bulletin by the senior author. That bulletin dealt with the number and distribution of inhabitants; race and nativity; age and sex;

marital, educational, and occupational status; and reproduction. Religious affiliation and migration are subjects added that were not given separate treatment in the original bulletin. The authors give much attention to rationalizing the method and to "selling" the importance of demographic study. To this, the initial and concluding chapters are almost entirely devoted, with additional statements interspersed throughout the volume. The trends materials are extended back for several decades, while the cross-sectional view is for 1940. For 1950, the authors had, at the time of the completion of the manuscript, only the preliminary releases for number of inhabitants, by parishes and village and city aggregates. As a result, the dramatic population changes of the 1940's are not significantly analyzed.

The authors have placed a major emphasis upon population changes and trends and thereby avoided a common tendency in demographic study to treat population as static phenomena. They have shown changes in absolute numbers or rates in the considered areas, through the method of decennial comparison. Nowhere are the threads of the separate studies of reproduction, mortality, and migration brought together for the relative evaluation of each component and for the further definition of mobility and gross change. Thus, the fertility ratio is exclusively used as the measure of reproduction, although the number of births is obtainable annually and the birth rate is more directly a measure of an element of population change. The four special census reports on internal migration, pertaining to the latter half of the decade most thoroughly studied, are not extensively incorporated in the analysis. The justification for this neglect is implicit in the authors' criticism of the underregistration of births and the distortion of the 1935-1940 migration data by the underreporting of "rural" and "farm" as place of residence in 1935.

The book is not a survey. It is an analysis, and well demonstrates the advantage of confining population study to an area that can be encompassed by the familiar knowledge of the analysts. Yet the body of data is sufficient to provide quantitative certainty. The rich heterogeneity of the state in less skillful hands would have constituted an analytical hazard. Old cities and new cities, French and folk cultural influences, rural areas of Catholic prevalence and rural areas of Protestant prevalence, white and nonwhite, family farms and plantations, delta and hills—all

permit testing for persistent relationships among complexes in which important elements are varied. The authors have again proved themselves able exponents of rural-urban significance in demographic study.

J. L. CHARLTON.

University of Arkansas.

The Population of Switzerland. By Kurt B. Mayer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. xiv + 336. \$5.00.

This book discusses the relationship between population trends and economic, social, and political conditions in Switzerland from the fourteenth century to the present. It is divided into six major parts. Part One covers the growth of the Swiss population from about 1300 to the present. Part Two is entitled "The Factors Determining Population Growth: The Balance of Births, Deaths, and Migrations." Part Three presents a descriptive analysis of the characteristics of the Swiss population. Part Four deals with international migration. Part Five covers internal migration, urbanization, and industrialization. Part Six discusses population policies and the future growth of population in Switzerland.

The population increased slowly from about 600,000 in 1300 to nearly 1,700,000 in 1800. By 1950, the population had increased to approximately 4,700,000.

Throughout the book, where data are available, rural-urban differences are analyzed and interpreted. The most industrialized cantons are primarily Protestant, while the least industrialized are predominantly Catholic. Mortality is lowest now in the largest cities and highest in the smallest communities, a reversal of the situation which existed in earlier days. As far back as the eighteenth century, rural areas had higher birth rates than urban areas. Urban districts now have relatively fewer children and old people than rural areas. A sizeable proportion of the rural people migrate to the cities for employment, but many tend to retire in the country.

The proportion of the population engaged in agriculture shrank from 36 per cent in 1883 to 19 per cent in 1941. Emigration during the nineteenth century consisted principally of farmers moving to the United States. Immigration, on the other hand, consisted primarily of persons from neighboring countries who obtained employment in Swiss industry, service occupations, and handicrafts.

There has been a long-term movement of people from rural to urban areas, which has reduced the size of many rural communities. Even so, Switzerland is one of the least urbanized of the industrial countries of the world. The author presents an interesting analysis of the historical, political, and economic factors that have contributed to this condition.

Differences between the four major linguistic groups are analyzed and interpreted.

One of the most interesting phenomena described in the book is the recruitment and employment of Swiss mercenaries by various foreign powers from the fifteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Mayer considers this to have been a business enterprise, increasing the national wealth as well as reducing the population.

The book is well written. The author has succeeded very well in his first major objective, which is "to enhance the understanding of Swiss social institutions by the English-speaking population through a descriptive analysis of Switzerland's population." To a lesser extent, the book is valuable because "Switzerland is an example of a Western European Country."

WALTER L. SLOCUM.

State College of Washington.

Population Growth in Malaya: A Survey of Recent Trends. By T. E. Smith. London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1952. Pp. viii + 126. \$3.00.

Widespread interest and not a little concern center upon the implications which population growth in thickly settled agricultural areas has for world peace, stability, and prosperity. The paucity of reliable information on this entire subject (in contrast to the abundance of speculative pronouncements) makes this careful and thoroughgoing analysis of the growth of population in Malaya even more welcome than such a scholarly study would ordinarily be. This volume was written in 1949-50 while the author, a member of the Malayan Civil Service, was at Princeton University on a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship working with Professors Stephan and Notestein, the latter of whom contributed the foreword.

Smith begins his treatment by setting forth the broad features of the historical growth of Malaya's population, and general background materials. Following this he describes the demographic characteristics and growth potentialities of each of the

two major population groups, the Malaysians and the Chinese, and of the substantial minority, the Indians. The author then turns his attention to the present stage of economic development in the country and to the possibilities of future economic expansion. Finally, he concerns himself with the interrelationship between population growth and economic development.

Despite her present rapid rate of population growth, Malaya is not yet faced with the population pressures prevailing in Java, China, and India. Whether she can avoid the demographic fate of these neighboring countries by making internal economic and social adjustments which will lead to a reduction of fertility is the central question posed and explored by this study. The author, firmly anchoring his evolving thought to past and present factual material, tentatively but optimistically concludes that Malaya now has bright chances of "solving her own problem of population growth and showing the other countries of South East Asia how to solve theirs" (p. 120).

Apart from being an excellent treatment of population growth in Malaya, this study has other values. The careful separate analyses of the Chinese, Malaysians, and Indians may reveal considerable information about the little-known demographic characteristics of these peoples outside Malaya. Also worthy of mention is the author's resourceful and rewarding handling of the limited and often faulty population data for Malaya. From this standpoint, the study is, at the same time, an example of what can be done with inadequate materials and a plea for improved census procedures and tabulations.

HOMER L. HITT.

Louisiana State University.

Industrial Relations and the Social Order. Revised edition. By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xiii + 660. \$5.00.

One of the two leading texts used in industrial sociology, Moore's analysis represents the historico-theoretical economics approach. Characteristic of the second edition, as of the first, is a facile verbalization which combines conclusions from a variety of sources with Moore's own hypotheses. The text has much to commend it for use in discussion-type courses for business majors.

However, the flow of Moore's logic tends to obscure the lack of evidence to back up

many of his statements. It would seem to be a greater service to the reader to present a more baldly factual account, emphasizing the gaps in our sociological knowledge. The objective might be achieved in part by inclusion of specific case-materials, in all their crudity, or by discussion of the methods and findings of one or more field researches.

Were his approach more sociological, Moore might well have included available materials on such questions of interest as, for example, what sociological generalizations derived elsewhere find supporting evidence in industrial situations; or what generalizations are refuted or brought into question by evidence from industry. On the other hand, using the outline he does follow, we might expect more about part-time seasonal employment of farm labor in decentralized factories in rural villages; or, the relationships between farm labor supply and industrial labor supply; or, the relationships between in-plant and extra-plant social behavior, to name but a few possibilities.

Moore is less likely to be accused of "managerial sociology" than he is of writing another economics text.

TOIMI E. KYLLONEN.

University of Missouri.

Living Without Hate: Scientific Approaches to Human Relations. By Alfred J. Marrow. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. Pp. xi + 269. \$3.50.

The author, president of a manufacturing firm (1000 employees), has a Ph.D. in psychology, a background of experience with the New School for Social Research and the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology, is a student of group tensions, and is proud to admit that he was inspired by Kurt Lewin.

Whatever one may think of "action research," as such, here we find it at its best. The author has brought together, summarized, and integrated some of the most significant studies in this field. He presents their essence in readable and interesting form; there is no gobbledygook. The range and variety of the studies are evidenced by such chapter titles as food prejudices, customer prejudices, and employer prejudices. In the fields of race and religious prejudice, the reader is given the methods and results of studies, and experiments in methods of handling bigots when spreading their prejudice in public places.

Some social science researchers will, no doubt, question the use of the term "scientific approaches" in the subtitle. However, when these action research studies are placed in the context of prevailing homilies on race prejudice, observances of brotherhood week and its programs, appeals to logic and other such gestures, one can understand why the author wants to use the term "scientific" in order to point up the relative objectivity of the projects here reviewed in contrast with the usual methods of preaching and emoting against prejudices. He points out that the "research" projects reported here grew out of real life situations, such as a wartime food emergency, a street fight on Yom Kippur in Seaside, production problems in a factory, discrimination practices in Northtown, bigoted remarks in public places, and effects of integrated housing on prejudiced attitudes (p. 259).

From reading the book, one gets the idea that action research is largely applied social psychology. The following group of statements and ideas of the author provides some of the conceptual framework. This is a book on how to change attitudes (p. 255). The approach is Lewin's: greater emphasis on the study of the individual through the group (p. 7). Ronald Lippitt is quoted: "It is now easier to split the atom than break a prejudice" (p. 6). "Action research is one of these bridges" carrying the new knowledge and skills to the citizens (p. 10). "To change in-group and out-group antagonisms calls for far more than changing individual attitudes. Attitudes are part of the group's culture rather than isolated units of a personal being. Hence the change must usually be collective" (p. 257). "... the action researchers are doing good work that is both socially useful and scientifically meaningful" (p. 10).

As the material is appropriate and well written, much of this book should be good collateral reading for certain phases of undergraduate courses in principles of sociology, racial and cultural minorities, social control, and principles of investigation. Also, it should not be surprising if this volume becomes exhibit number one of the latest developments in the broad field of social work. Industrial leaders, welfare administrators, and other community leaders might very well rate this as the book of the year in their field of civic and human relations.

ERNEST H. SHIDLER.

University of Illinois.

The Technique of Persuasion. By Ian Harvey. New York: The British Book Centre, Inc., 1951. Pp. vii + 198. \$3.00.

This essay on human relationships has as its main thesis that the technique of persuasion is the technique of influencing free people to adopt a pattern of life. It is assumed that persuasion is the only possible means of combining freedom and order. Such a combination, if successfully achieved, would presumably solve many of the problems of our time.

The author, a member of Parliament and a recognized authority on advertising, analyzes the techniques of persuasion in its various forms—namely, advertising, political propaganda, public relations, leadership and the formation of morale, and evangelism and salesmanship. His analysis is based upon observations as a student, and as a practitioner in his field. He draws upon many current illustrations from both English and American literature, from political activity, and from leaders in public life.

In this relatively small volume the reader is reminded of the many techniques employed in everyday life to persuade people to conform to that pattern of life and society which their leaders and representatives have evolved. The conceptual framework of the author is that man is essentially gregarious in nature. He is, therefore, subject to emotion and mass action in the same way that he is subject to individual emotions and actions.

The character and aim of advertising in its dual role as salesman and as a means of public enlightenment is discussed at some length. Comparisons are made between British and American advertising as it reflects basic social activity in the exchange of ideas and commodities. The five yardsticks recommended for use in judging the effectiveness of public relations in the formation of opinion and the analysis of leadership are worthy of careful study.

This is a book that should be read by everyone engaged in molding public sentiment. The author writes in a clear, concise, and stimulating manner. Sociologists will find this essay on human relations especially interesting and profitable reading.

ROBERT C. CLARK.

University of Wisconsin.

The 4-H Story: A History of 4-H Club Work. By Franklin M. Reck. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State College Press, 1951. Pp. xii + 308. \$3.00.

Preliminary plans for this history were started in 1946. The book was completed under the guidance of an advisory committee of eight persons, who represented the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work, the Historical Research Unit of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the state 4-H Club leaders. The author, a trained and experienced journalist now with the *Farm Journal*, Philadelphia, traces the origin and development of 4-H Club work in the United States. In the main, the records used are supported by documentary evidence. Many persons were interviewed, and a number of archives were searched by the author and his advisers in gathering data for the history.

The book is written from the standpoint of a journalist. Emphasis is given to big sponsoring organizations, to big club events, to federal legislation, and to the recognition of important people. On the whole, the story is well written. However, the early beginnings are related more interestingly than are later developments. The origin of club work is especially well told. Anecdotes are used effectively to explain amusing situations. A better balance between old pictures and current ones would have made the presentation more attractive.

The book is dedicated to the local, voluntary leader. But the average reader will desire more information than is given about the selection of leaders, their methods of work, and their philosophy at the different stages of club development through the years. Club work is portrayed as being developed to its present stage by trial-and-error methods as a "program of the educators." It would be more accurate to attribute the development and survival of club work to its becoming a part of the people's movement toward practical education through group work. There are some errors in *The 4-H Story*, arising principally from the interpretation of club facts.

No doubt *The 4-H Story* will be very useful to students and teachers of training courses in Agricultural Extension Work and for illustrative material in social science classes. Also, if made available for use, this history may well be studied by

the county councils of 4-H leaders in their meetings throughout the year.

T. T. MARTIN.

University of Missouri.

County Government Across the Nation.

Edited by Paul W. Wager. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. xiii + 817. \$7.50.

"Fergus County officers include a gopher exterminator and an officer to round up wild horses" (p. 557).

"An analysis of local government in the eastern and north-central states discloses less progress in adapting it to modern conditions than in that of the other regions of the country" (p. 156).

These two statements are quoted to illustrate the fact that Dr. Wager was aware of the unusual but, at the same time, was not unmindful of responsibility to generalize where the facts warrant such generalizations. The statements serve the additional function of pointing up the complexity of both structure and function of local government in America, and this is the focus of the volume.

County Government Across the Nation "is an attempt to provide the particularity in respect to county and township government in the several states which a general textbook must necessarily lack" (p. v). It is a series of forty-eight case studies. But it is also more than that—it is a comprehensive description of the structure and function of county and township governmental units.

The plan of the book is very simple. One county in each of the forty-eight states was selected for study. This reviewer would like to have a more complete picture of the basis on which the counties were selected than is presented. Individual county studies were done either by Dr. Wager or by a person selected for his competence in this field and in the particular state or area. States are grouped into four major regions: (1) New England (6 states), (2) Eastern and North-Central (12 states), (3) Southern (13 states), and (4) Western (17 states).

There is a short summary at the beginning of each regional grouping of states. Dr. Wager has done a remarkable job in these summaries. Uniqueness and generalizations are so balanced that a very readable and intelligible picture is portrayed. The subheadings in the summary for the Eastern and North-Central States show the general outline: New York System, Penn-

sylvania System, Township Government Today, School Districts, County Governing Body, Collateral Boards, Chief Administrative Officer, Long Ballot; similar, but by no means identical, summaries are presented for the other three regional groupings.

Each state is briefly described, including the state court system within the framework being used. This is followed by the county analysis. Orange County, North Carolina (which contains the university where Dr. Wager is located), may serve as an illustration of the general outline followed in the county studies: Introduction (points of historical interest, size, population, industry, topography, soils, etc.); the county board; other elective officers; appointive officers; functions of government; county expenditures. All of the counties do not follow the same outline, and details are given in varying degrees; but the above is illustrative.

A selected bibliography is presented which contains twenty-two general studies and forty-two special state studies. A brief index follows; it appears adequate in view of the nature of the book.

This is a job that needed doing and the task was well done. Teachers of rural sociology, specifically, and students of rural society, in general, will find the book of special interest and value.

SELZ C. MAYO.

North Carolina State College.

Reader in Bureaucracy. By Robert K. Merton, Ailsa P. Gray, Barbara Hockey, and Hanan C. Selvin, editors. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952. Pp. 464. \$5.00.

One never knows quite how to review a book of readings such as this volume, which contains 55 articles and essays by almost as many different authors (some have more than one paper in the volume), and, with two exceptions, written for purposes other than inclusion in this work. Obviously, the reviewer can do little more than provide the reader with some notion of the scope and organization of the materials and let it go at that.

Here are the eight major headings under which the editors have grouped the selected papers: Bureaucracy: Theoretical Conceptions; Basis for the Growth of Bureaucracy; Recruitment and Advancement; the Bureaucrat; Social Pathologies of Bureaucracy; and Field Methods for the Study of Bureaucracy. Most of the authors classify

as sociologists, although there are contributions by economists and political scientists. The papers deal with European and North American bureaucracies; they are chosen to give primary consideration to political bureaucracy, and to emphasize analytical rather than descriptive materials. An excellent bibliography is appended, but those readers who like an index will be disappointed.

The book meets an important need for students and research workers in this field. The literature on the subject has "mushroomed" in the last decade or so but is widely scattered, often in seemingly unlikely places. Max Weber truly started something, of which certainly this volume will not be the end. Parenthetically, it is a pity that gentleman is no longer with us to engage in the sprightly discussion now under way.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

Man and Society. Second edition. By Francis J. Haas. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. Pp. xxi + 554. \$4.50.

Designed as an introductory text in sociology, this volume is included in the Century College Catholic Text Series, under the editorship of John A. Lapp. It is the second edition of a work which first appeared in 1930. Although the first edition of this book definitely set the pattern of organization, it has been brought completely up-to-date. Not only has much of the material been rewritten, but several completely new sections have been added. In addition, the order of presentation of many minor parts and one major part has been changed to give the volume more coherence.

Two unique features of *Man and Society* make it stand out among introductory sociology texts. The first is its central frame of reference of man as a divine being. Parts I and II (128 pages) are devoted almost entirely to providing such a perspective for the reader. The moral setting of society, from the Catholic point of view, is thoroughly presented in these pages under such topics as Justice, Rights and Duties, and Charity and Equity.

The second novel feature of this text is its concentration on social institutions. Given detailed discussion as separate parts of the book are Family Life, Economic Life, Occupational Life, and Political Life. It seems to the reviewer that brief discussions of such integral content matter of so-

ciology as the social processes, demography, human ecology, and social psychology could have been substituted appropriately for some of the detail in connection with these treatments.

There is no doubt that Bishop Haas has written a readable and highly useful book, for the purpose in mind. His writing shows a wide acquaintance with the literature in the field, and sociologists who accept his frame of reference will find little to quarrel with in his presentation. Rural sociologists will be pleased to note that the problems of the farm are discussed in some detail under the general heading of Economic Life.

ALVIN L. BERTRAND.

Louisiana State University.

The Social History of a War-Boom Community. By Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerthorn Morgan. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1951. Pp. xix + 356. \$4.00.

This book is a description and an interpretation of what happened to the people and institutions of a rural Midwestern town during an industrial boom of World War II. How does the adaptation of social institutions take place during rapid social change? How do individuals adapt to changed living conditions? How does a crisis influence the long-term history of a community? To find answers to these questions and to record one part of wartime American life were the purposes of the study. Data were obtained by the authors and field assistants who combined observation with performing certain services for agencies or groups in the community. These observations and interviews were supplemented by records from public and private agencies.

The book is organized in four parts: The Setting, Adjustment of People, Adjustment of Institutions, and Perspectives. The social structure of the community is described and analyzed in terms of four classes, with a passing reference to how those classes were delimited by the researchers (p. 17). More detailed information is included on physical aspects of the new shipyard than on social aspects of the old pre-boom community.

Adjustments of individuals are described in relation to problems of finding a place to live, relationships between newcomers and oldtimers, pleasant and unpleasant experiences of daily living, food-buying habits, use of money, and "the children's world." The adjustments of institutions are de-

scribed in a series of chapters dealing with religion, business, recreation, schools, child-care services, health and welfare, and government.

Students of community organization will be interested in the various methods of group action and leadership described, such as the contrasting experiences of the Housing Authority with the "Victory Court" and "War Homes" housing areas. The authors indicate why certain organization practices worked or failed (p. 83). Sociologists interested in family adjustment will notice the experiences of Seneca families particularly in relation to spending their money, care of children, and recreation.

There are a number of errors either in reporting or in editing, such as reference (p. 214) to the Rebekahs as "a Masonic women's organization." The book should be read as a description of a community as seen by observers with a particular orientation, not as representative of America, or of the Midwest, or of a war-boom town, or of anything else. Those who contributed Appendix B, "Food-Buying Habits in Seneca," stretch more than a ration point when they claim, on the basis of 175 records obtained from February through May, that "From these records it is possible to construct a picture of the typical food habits of American workers in 1944" (p. 345).

WILLIAM M. SMITH, JR.

Pennsylvania State College.

Social Problems and Social Policy. By James M. Reinhardt, Paul Meadows, and John M. Gillette. New York: American Book Company, 1952. Pp. ix + 590. \$4.50.

This is essentially the same book as the earlier Gillette and Reinhardt volumes on which it is based. Except for chapters on technological change and on education, the topics covered have not been altered. There has, however, been a considerable reordering of materials; and, to its clear advantage, the text has been shortened by 235 pages. More recent data and references are included, although such revision is not uniform. The bibliography of Chapter 9, for example, has no more recent book citation than 1938, and the population data in Chapter 8 do not go beyond 1940 except for certain items on age distribution and migration. The new chapter on "Technology and Social Adjustment," an adaptation of an essay by Professor Meadows, does not harmonize readily with the style of the preceding chapters, which are Gillette's work.

The authors view social problems as situations developing from group life, which situations are held by a collectivity of persons to threaten injury; they can be defined, analyzed, and ameliorated only by collective action. Social problems are not necessarily pathological, though some may be so defined. The increasing complexity and differentiation of groups and interests in contemporary society maximize the opportunities for "disadjustments." Social problems tend to be rooted in institutional behavior, and can be understood only as interdependent parts of the institutional organization.

If this is so, it may be difficult to agree with the authors that sociology as a science is best approached through a study of "the origin and development of its various problems." Certainly, the brief orientation of Chapter 1 will be insufficient to allow a beginning student to use any adequate theoretical formulations as a tool for understanding the areas defined as "disadjustments." No attempt is made elsewhere to relate descriptive and factual materials to a sociological frame of reference.

Nevertheless, if the emphasis of a course is on social—as distinguished from sociological—problems, and if the conventional range of problems (from the use of natural resources to that of alcohol) is satisfactory to an instructor, he will find the individual topics well covered here. "Solutions" are oriented to democratic concepts of human rights and group welfare.

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY.

Brown University.

Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency. By Pauline Young. Foreword by Roscoe Pound. Second edition. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1952. Pp. xxvi + 536. \$7.00.

This is a revision of Dr. Young's well-known text and casebook which originally appeared in 1937. It is much more than a simple revision. About three-fourths of the volume has been completely rewritten and reorganized. A great deal of new material describing the more significant developments and programs of the past fifteen years in the treatment and control of delinquency has been added. The book is designed primarily for professional workers with delinquent youth, although it is sure to continue as a popular text for advanced courses in schools of social work or departments of sociology.

The book is organized logically into four major divisions. Part I, entitled "The So-

cial Case Study of Unadjusted Youth and Parents," is designed to give "an understanding of the total psychocultural setting" out of which delinquent behavior develops. The author stresses the necessity of avoiding one-sided or doctrinaire interpretations and describes her own point of view as sociological, although it is difficult to perceive any explicit sociological framework in terms of which deviant behavior is interpreted. Delinquency is implicitly regarded by the writer as "maladjustment" growing out of personal and/or social limitations or shortcomings. There is little recognition of the concept of delinquency as normal behavior or as a form of adjustment to a subculture, a point of view that has been recently emphasized by some sociologists. The book, however, is relatively free from the overemphasis on psychiatric and psychoanalytic factors which implies that delinquency is always pathology. Dr. Young has made most judicious use of well-selected case-history material for both illustrative and analytic purposes. Some of the cases were used in the earlier edition and are here brought up-to-date, giving the reader the satisfaction of learning "how it all came out." The value of this section, as well as the later ones, is greatly enhanced by this material.

Part II deals with the legal aspects of probation and includes chapters on the juvenile court and the court clinic, as well as new and valuable chapters on state youth authorities and commissions. Chapters dealing with detention institutions and institutional care of delinquent youth have also been added to this section. The final third of the book, divided into two sections, is concerned with processes and techniques of social treatment and therapy. Part III covers case-work techniques and Part IV, with nine chapters, community resources for the treatment and control of the youthful offender. To many of the chapters are appended extensive bibliographies which reflect the author's wide acquaintance with the literature in this area of interest.

This volume is a valuable addition to the growing number of texts and manuals in this field. A first-hand acquaintance with courts, clinics, and probation departments, as well as personal case practice, has provided an authoritative tone which is often lacking in books on this topic by academic authors.

Its principal weakness lies, perhaps, in a certain degree of prolixity and a tendency to incorporate a great number of quotations from "authorities" which seem designed more to impress than to inform. Occa-

sionally, some of the case material seems a little pointless and without significance. These, however, are minor criticisms of a very important contribution to the literature in the field of Probation and Juvenile Delinquency. The book deserves, and undoubtedly will receive, wide appreciation and use.

C. T. PIHLBLAD.

University of Missouri.

The Burden of Diseases in the United States. By Alfred E. Cohn and Claire Lingg. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. vii + 129. \$10.00.

Changes in the character of diseases which are of greatest importance to the public have been demonstrated a great many times, e.g., the shift from the infectious to the so-called degenerative diseases, and from the diseases of infancy and childhood to the diseases of old age. Nonetheless, no other study known to this reviewer has so competently reviewed the evidence on the incidence of disease since 1900.

The Burden of Diseases in the United States is not an economic analysis, but rather a study of mortality and morbidity for specific diseases according to age, sex, and, to a limited extent, race and other characteristics. The book is a massive collection of graphs, with the text material confined to the briefest discussion of their significant features. (Some very large colored graphs are included in a boxed second volume.) It is a source book which should be in every good library and which deserves careful study.

"We have been saved from death in youth, to live, it may be, laborious days, and to die in the end by more lingering mechanisms . . ." (p. 29) is not a new theme, and even if developed in an exceptionally adequate manner does not justify this study. The evidence presented suggests that there is also something more than this. If it were simply a matter of our avoiding childhood diseases in order to die of old people's diseases, we might expect an increased number of such deaths as the age distribution of the population changes. We have this, but we also have a rather sharply rising rate. This is an age-specific rate which changes to a greater degree than could be accounted for in terms of changes in diagnostic practice or in the categories of the International Causes of Death. The authors do not pretend to present any conclusions here, but they have made the preliminary analysis, which is

consistent with fragmentary information from life-expectancy tables.

One unusually good feature of the book is the breadth of its bibliography. Coming from a background of extensive experience with medical statistics, the authors have used demographic literature extensively, a habit which is not always reciprocated. Experts in population problems could probably suggest related studies which are not noted and which could make contributions to certain parts.

An occasional emphasis in the book is that our national efforts in voluntary health programs are not consistent with the relative importance of diseases. To counteract the glamorizing of some diseases we need to remember that all patients deserve attention; that many diseases are lingering, and therefore important, though the death rate is not alarming; and that voluntary help might occasionally be reassessed in terms also of quantitative importance.

WENDELL H. BASH.

Colgate University.

Rural Health and Social Policy. By Elin Lilja Anderson. Selections from her writings, published in her memory by some of her friends. Washington, D. C., 1951. Pp. 31. No publisher or price listed.

A group of people who had worked closely with the late Elin Anderson and who were anxious to record an appreciation for themselves and for others met in a memorial service to Miss Anderson in Washington in 1951. This little book is a collection of excerpts from addresses made at that time and includes selections from Miss Anderson's writings. Eulogies by Michael Davis, Henry C. Taylor, Paul Miller, and Margaret Fedde express something of Miss Anderson's intense devotion to ideals and the very high regard in which she was held by her associates and her many friends.

The portions included of Elin Anderson's writings relate mainly to rural health organization, an area in which she worked unstintingly for most of her life. These writings, however brief, are revealing of the faith and vision she possessed. Rural sociologists should find this booklet an inspirational experience.

ROBERT L. McNAMARA.

University of Missouri.

Aspects of Social Reforms in Guatemala, 1944-1949. By Leo A. Suslow. Colgate University Area Studies: Latin American Seminar Reports, No. 1. Hamilton, New York: Colgate University, 1949. Pp. vii + 133. \$1.64 (mimeographed).

This publication is a mimeographed edition of a thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree at Colgate University. It is the first of a series of three such analyses done by graduate students at Colgate and dealing with various aspects of reform policies in Guatemala since the revolution of October, 1944. As part of their training, students in the Area Studies Program at Colgate spend from two to three months in a foreign country in order to gather data for their theses and to make personal observations of situations existing in the area. This is a commendable procedure as it gives to the student a realistic concept of life in the area which can be gained only through actual experience with the peoples concerned.

In this study, the author considers five different phases of Guatemalan life, and outlines the nature of the reform policies which have been initiated in each since the revolution of 1944. Specifically, these are reforms in popular education, land tenure, agricultural labor, rural health, and social security. These discussions are preceded by an introduction in which a general orientation to Guatemala is given, and they are followed by a concluding chapter in which the author makes recommendations regarding the reform policies. In discussing popular education, he analyzes reforms in secondary schools, in the university, and in adult programs in urban areas, and gives general consideration to reforms in rural education. His discussion of land tenure and other agrarian reforms includes those pertaining to the concentration of ownership of arable and accessible lands, the promotion of coöperatives, the distribution of lands through colonization and immigration, and other phases of the agrarian program. The labor code, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor unions are analyzed in another section. This is followed by a discussion of the major health problems of Guatemala and the improvements which have been made in public health and sanitation since 1944. The section on social security deals primarily with the laws and the programs pertaining to the Guatemalan Institute of Social Security.

In general, the analyses are not based on original research but depend heavily upon the literature regarding the various subjects which are considered. However, this does not necessarily detract from the value of the study.

PAUL H. PRICE.

Louisiana State University.

Tim's Fight for the Valley. By Ralph Edgar Bailey. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1951. Pp. 246. \$2.50.

Novels that revolve around a somewhat technical subject like soil conservation are hard to handle; but the author does a good job, for he is able to maintain human interest as well as technical authenticity.

This book is about Tim Blake, a young farmer who struggles to save his paternal acres from soil erosion, win the girl he loves, foil his enemies, and get a solid start in life—all at once.

In a state that is as enthusiastic about soil conservation as Oklahoma, it is hard to imagine any considerable element in a rural society that would oppose such a program, even to the extent of trying to burn the hero's barn, wreck his tractor, steal his farm, and flood the whole valley; but these are some things with which Tim Blake had to contend. These complications are what make the story exciting.

The book has a definite Oklahoma angle, except that in this state the promoters of big dams get the federal government to do the dirty work, driving people off their farms to produce power reservoirs of doubtful value.

Mr. Bailey evidently knows his terraces and contours. He handles the technical details of soil-conservation practices quite well. His colorful description of farm life probably will bring back many memories to the old boys who came from the farm.

This fictional treatment of a vast movement which is sweeping the American farm community is good reading, and it has a potential value for the saving of our topsoil.

ELMER T. PETERSON.

The Daily Oklahoman.

Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocation Camps. By Allen H. Eaton. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. Pp. 208. \$6.00.

Unique experiences gave rise to this unique book. When 100,000 people of Japanese ancestry, mostly American-born cit-

izens, were hastily evacuated from the West Coast and concentrated in War Relocation Camps, they took bare necessities and found little more, except idleness.

Immediately they turned to the arts. From around their desert barracks they gathered bits of crating materials, broken tools, discarded containers; they collected sand, sagebrush, roots, and stones from their barbed enclosures, and unravelled oddments from screening and gunny sacks. From all these they made delicate art objects (photographed in the book), also intricate carvings, miniature landscape trays, embroideries, etc. Later, materials were found for building furniture, and small gardens were developed.

Eventually the administrative staff fostered these spontaneous efforts; the staff sponsored collections, exhibitions, and native festivals in homemade costumes.

Rural sociologists will be interested in the ingenuity of these people who had not yet lost their native heritage of handicraft and creative art. Their mass evacuation and segregation represented something new in American life; but we may not have seen the last of it.

CAROLINE SHERMAN.

Washington, D. C.

Pioneer in Community: Henri Lasserre's Contribution to the Fully Cooperative Society. By Watson Thompson. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1949. Pp. xv + 123. \$2.00.

Watson Thompson describes Henri Lasserre as a pioneer in community living. He was a pioneer in his attempts to inject a larger measure of moral values into modern business or cooperation as generally carried on. He glorified the individual and gave him a greater opportunity to express himself in cooperative endeavor than is possible in typical private enterprise. He is described as an idealist in his ideas of practical economic cooperation among individuals. He overlooked or neglected to recognize the reality of man's inherent selfishness, even though this did not seem to be too much of a factor in the experience of the various cooperative enterprises which he describes.

The author appears to be unrealistic in assuming that an economic social enterprise will find a ready, generous, financial sponsor such as Lasserre was, to furnish the necessary initial funds to provide the facilities and working capital essential to a business venture. He apparently assumed that the members of such a society could

not afford to buy shares in the enterprise. As a man of some means, he perhaps was oversympathetic with people whom he considered less fortunate in the ownership of worldly goods; or, as a socialist, he might have believed that capital should be furnished by the State. Since all surpluses were to be distributed to the individual members, a question may be asked about funds for expansion. No mention is made of contribution to be made by members and the possible increased interest in the cooperative that might accrue to members as a result. In advance of any such contribution, can there be a real and active sense of ownership if no initial sacrifice is required of members, beyond what they may earn, once the enterprise is operating?

Henri Lasserre has made a real contribution to the ethical basis of cooperation. There are far too many cooperators who see only economic advantage. They fail to realize that, to make a cooperative truly successful—to make it contribute to the general welfare—not only is economic support necessary, but a good measure of social conscience is necessary as well.

The book is commended to every student and apostle of cooperation.

D. C. DVORACEK.

University of Minnesota.

Labour Policies in the West Indies. Prepared by Cedric O. J. Mathews and K. L. Versteeg for the International Labour Office. Studies and Reports, New Series No. 29. Washington, D. C.: International Labor Office, 1952. Pp. 377. \$2.25.

This volume presents an exceptionally well arranged survey of labor policies and problems in the territories comprising the Caribbean area. Students of labor and population problems of the West Indies will find in this work a helpful reference for a quick review of historical and current developments in the labor field for each of the West Indian territories covered. These include the British, French, Netherlands, and United States territories in the Caribbean region. Cuba and other self-governing countries of the region are not included in this study.

The book is organized into nine chapters with an appendix consisting of selected statistical data. The first three chapters are fairly general, depicting the pre-World War II economic and social background, wartime and postwar trends, and governmental policies in the manpower field. Industrial relations, wages and hours, em-

ployment of women and youth, social security, and labor legislation developments are the subjects of the next five chapters. The final chapter highlights the major problems of labor policy in the West Indies in relation to the activities of the International Labor Organization. Readers who have only a limited knowledge of the activities of the I. L. O. will find this chapter quite informative, particularly since it is built around a discussion of the concrete and grave manpower problems that affect the West Indies.

The subject matter of each of the chapters is presented for each of the West Indian territories separately. This permits the reader to obtain a comparative picture of labor conditions in the areas of the West Indies belonging to the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. It is often only in terms of such perspective that a more balanced appraisal can be made of the rate and content of social progress attained in the several areas.

To organize and present as much material for as many different areas as the authors of this study have done required painstaking research and much labor. It may, therefore, be somewhat unfair to ask them to have presented still more information on some aspects. But this reviewer would have liked to see the discussion of the migration of West Indian labor for seasonal farm employment in the United States brought up-to-date instead of stopping with 1945. The program of importation of foreign and offshore labor for temporary employment on farms in the United States has by 1952 become larger than it ever was during World War II. Also, this reviewer would have liked to see a somewhat more critical appraisal of the various labor policies pursued in these areas than the authors attempted. All in all, however, the I. L. O. and the authors are to be commended for a needed job well done.

LOUIS J. DUOFF.

United States Bureau of
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BOOK NOTES

by the Editor

Where Winter Never Comes: A Study of Man and Nature in the Tropics. By Marston Bates. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1952. Pp. 310. \$3.50.

This is truly a delightful book written by a naturalist who has had considerable tropical experience. He also understands something of the nature and significance of

culture. His discussion of the evolution of our "Intemperate" Zone attitude toward the tropics is interesting. Rural sociologists will be most interested, perhaps, in the chapters on clothing in the tropics, food and drink, diseases, and the resources of the tropics. The book is well written, highly informative, and genuinely entertaining. It could be read with profit by social scientists planning to make a sojourn in the tropics for the first time.

Readings in Sociology. Edited by Alfred McClung Lee. College Outline Series. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1951. Pp. viii + 439. \$1.75.

This is a collection of fifty carefully selected and for the most part well-chosen readings presented without discussion or interpretation. A short introduction explains the system of organization of the book and how each reference fits into it. The nine sections are well chosen and are based upon teaching experience as well as academic knowledge. The book represents a convenient collection of some of the most provocative literature in sociology, drawn from the writing of some of the best thinkers in the field. It is apparently not intended to be used as a textbook, though presumably it might be used as a text with supplementary readings.

Factor Analysis: An Introduction and Manual for the Psychologist and Social Scientist. By Raymond B. Cattell. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. Pp. xiii + 462. \$6.00.

This book attempts to bring the subject matter of complex statistical technique to a level understandable by persons with ordinary mathematical training. In this attempt the author appears to have been reasonably successful, and the growing demands for some knowledge of this research device should justify the effort.

Persons with training in the Algebra of Vectors and Matrices probably would like to see more of a mathematical approach to the subject.

Applied Statistics: A Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Vol. I, No. 1. Edited by Leonard H. C. Tippet. London: Oliver & Boyd, Ltd., 1952. Pp. 80. Annual Subs. 25S Net.

This is a new journal edited by the author of *Tippet's Random Sampling Numbers*. It is intended to meet the needs of those "who must handle and understand

statistics as part of their tasks." Its aim is to present the statistical approach and its value, and to illustrate in original articles modern statistical methods in their everyday applications.

The Research Paper. By Florence M. A. Hilbish. New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1952. Pp. 292. \$2.95.

This book was written by a professor of English for the use of students doing research papers in that field. Much of the ground covered, however, is equally applicable to the problems of doing library research in other subjects. Topics such as use of the library, assembling a bibliography, reading and making notes, preparing the manuscript (including documentation, bibliography, etc.) are treated.

An Analysis of the Multi-Test Clinic of Richmond, Virginia. By Walter E. Boek, assisted by Jean K. Boek. New York: Health Information Foundation, 1951. Pp. xxiii + 267.

This is a report on the first research project completed by the Health Information Foundation. It is a study of a multiple screening program conducted during the first seven months of 1950 by the Health Division of the Richmond Area Community Council, in cooperation with other agencies in the city and the United States Public Health Service. The study provides information that will be of value and interest to anyone concerned with community or industrial health programs.

When Minds Go Wrong. By John Maurice Grimes. Chicago: John Maurice Grimes, 1949. Pp. 237. (No price indicated.)

This is a "protest" book, a frank attack on our present system of caring for mental patients. It is not well documented, has no index, and consists mainly of a narrative of the author's experiences and observations as a physician in mental hospitals. The book employs the light touch; there are six chapters and thirty subheadings dealing briefly but in a devastating manner with such topics as "The Sizzling Truth," "Tales Not Often Told," "Bedlam," "I Thought Doctors Treated Patients."

Den Danske Ungdom. By Ungdomskommissionen. Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz A/S, 1951. Pp. 247. (No price listed.)

This is a study of a two-per cent (9,000 persons) sample of the youth, aged 15-24

years. It "presents an approximately correct picture of Danish youth." Migration, training and employment, military service, family data, housing, and use of leisure are covered.

The Right to Self-Determination and the Soviet Union. By A. A. Kristian. London: Boreas Publishing Co., Ltd., 1952. Pp. 78. 4/6 net.

No. 6 in the East and West Series of pamphlets emanating from the Estonian Information Center, Stockholm, Sweden.

Basic Elements of a Free, Dynamic Society. Round-table discussion held under sponsorship of the Advertising Council. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. 91. \$1.00.

This is an interesting discussion by Paul G. Hoffman (moderator), Chester I. Barnard, Russel W. Davenport, Frank Tannenbaum, and others.

The Instability of Consumer Spending. By Arthur F. Burns. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1952. Pp. 87. No charge.

The paper which embodies the title occupies the first 21 pages of what is otherwise the annual report of the Bureau.

The National Economy in Time of Crisis: Its Meaning to Lawyers and Their Clients. By Alvin A. Burger, editor. Newark, New Jersey: New Jersey Bar Association (sponsor), 1951. Pp. vii + 84. No price listed.

A collection of six lectures by Marcus Nadler, Walter E. Spahr, Leo Wolman, and Henry Hazlitt. Introduction by Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New Jersey Supreme Court.

Report of the Director-General to the International Labour Conference, Thirty-fifth Session, 1952. Report No. 1. By David A. Morse. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1952. Pp. 121. \$0.75.

Reviews the economic background of the rise in cost of living, social policies related to the improvement of human welfare, operational work, and the problems encountered.

Social Change and Scientific Progress. By William C. Menninger. Cambridge, Mass.: Arthur D. Little, Inc., 1951. Pp. 42. No price listed.

This is the fifth Arthur D. Little Memorial Lecture delivered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

SELECTED RURAL FICTION OF 1951

by Caroline Sherman

I Am Lidian. By Naomi Lane Babson. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Pp. 311. \$3.00.

Another story of a pioneer woman but with a difference. It is one woman's stream of consciousness, recollections over ninety years; yet the story line is distinct and effective. Major and minor characters are clearly drawn by this experienced writer and are individual. Primarily, the theme is Lidian's integrity of personality despite many pressures and adverse episodes. Against her will, hers has been a wandering life.

April Snow. By Lillian Budd. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. Pp. 317. \$3.00.

Family life on a rather forbidding island off the coast of Sweden is made up of children of many attitudes knit together into a loyal and loving whole by one woman's personality whose worth is recognized by all except her husband and his friends. Through step-by-step progression we learn in detail of Swedish ways and customs. We see their handicrafts, hear their songs, attend their festivals. A religious accent is present throughout. (Selected by Family Reading Club.)

Harbin's Ridge. By Henry Giles. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. 233. \$2.75.

Although the leading family is moderately well to do, they are Kentucky mountaineers. Devotion and contentment seem to prevail, with two boys monopolizing attention. But throughout, the reader is aware of sinister undercurrents that surge to the surface eventually when the mountain people and their action take on a stark and primitive aspect. Powerful, sympathetic, and distinctive.

The Gabriel Horn. By Felix Holt. New York: Dutton Co. Pp. 221. \$3.00.

A clear-seeing frontier lad journeys from the hills of eastern Kentucky to those of the western part of his state, meeting crude but enlivening incidents all the way. He tells of it himself with the flavored vocabulary of his country and times. Tough in spots, but authentic and brimful of vitality.

Where Nests the Water Hen. By Gabrielle Roy. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Pp. 251. \$3.00.

Plot is not necessary in this revealing translation of incidents on a remote island in northern Manitoba. Life, love, warmth, humor, and graceful writing infuse every chapter whether the pages be about the teeming, enthusiastic family of French-Canadian children and their vibrant joy-giving mother, about the teachers the government sends to them alone, or about the old, unworldly, but shrewd and much-beloved Capuchin priest.

Sudden Glory. By Cid Ricketts Sumner. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill. Pp. 326. \$3.00.

Told chiefly from the viewpoint of a thoughtful growing child and young girl, this book of distinctive appeal gives an amazing picture of the straits to which some gentle families of the South were reduced after the Civil War, and the cheerful, almost matter-of-fact way in which some of them faced hard work and privations year after year. Grandfather and grandmother and others are not to be forgotten.

The Southwest Corner. By Mildred Walker. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Pp. 144. \$2.00.

In a few chapters, *The Southwest Corner* gives a heart-warming depth of insight. In this author's several rural novels she has exhibited ability to probe beneath the surface and disclose what she finds with imaginative understanding. This study of old age is deftly done and with a remarkable perception. The scene is New England as of today.

The Witch Diggers. By Jessamyn West. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Pp. 441. \$3.50.

Freshness infuses every phase of this book. The scene is a poorhouse whose director labors selflessly. He tries to build up the farm and barnyard, to improve the meager living, and to provide wholesome and forward-looking work for its people. The individualities and peculiarities of the diverse population of the institution, and the unusual members of his own family are thoroughly alive. All are affected in some way by the locale. Miss West's humor seeps through surprisingly often, but it is not a pollyanna situation or tale. The scene is in Indiana a good many years ago.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by T. Wilson Longmore*

Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation with Special Reference to Standards of Living. United Nations Economic and Social Council, Social Commission, Eighth Session (E/CN.5/267) New York. 418 pp. (Mimeo.) April 1952.

Social scientists who are aware of what Isador Lubin recently termed the "revolution of rising expectations" among the people of underdeveloped countries will find this, the first report of its kind, interesting indeed.

Surely the problems which give rise to this study are familiar: a rapid and—as it seems to many people—enormously increasing population; wide and dangerous diversities among the conditions of life as between different countries; and, over most of the world, sadly dangerous underproduction of food.

But despite these negative conditions, with the rising tide of education and intercommunication there is no escape from the challenge of finding ways of bettering living conditions. Progress is necessary as a part of the current struggle between the free nations of the world and the Communists. But even were the Communist struggle won tomorrow, the problems of the underfed and underdeveloped countries would not disappear, nor can the difficulties flowing from these problems be successfully handled until living conditions over wide areas of the world have been ameliorated.

The origin of the report and the limitations under which it was prepared are set forth in the preface. It is interesting to note that the original resolution before the General Assembly of the United Nations related to a study of "the world social and cultural situation." After discussion, however, the word "cultural" was eliminated, hence the current title, "Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation."

The preface itself calls attention to several limitations: First, the report is not based on new or original research. Second, the report relates to the existing conditions, not to programs to improve these conditions. Further, the report is not supposed to cover the entire field embraced by the word "social" but, as the subtitle indi-

cates, to consider the situation "with special reference to standards of living." That is, the instructions excluded any analysis of different social structures or cultural values and their effects. Nor for that matter was any exact or scientific definition given to the concept "standards of living." According to the report, this concept has no clear or uniform meaning from an international viewpoint, with the result that attention is concentrated upon certain major factors that appear to have universal agreement as basic ingredients of a decent life—namely, health, food and nutrition, housing, education and communication, and conditions of work and employment.

It seems to the reviewer that a more precise definition of the term "standards of living" would have been desirable. The more or less synonymous use of the ideas of *levels* and *standards* of living seems not only at variance with common practice among U. S. social scientists but, far more important, confusing. Saleswise, perhaps, there is something to be said for this confusion—i.e., the concept of attainable or desirable standards is approached intuitively with the discussion itself actually being in terms of needs or problems. Nevertheless, the differentiation between current levels of living and desirable standards cannot be overlooked, and, as a matter of actual practice, examples of this differentiation can be picked up in many places throughout the report.

The attempt to eliminate the consideration of cultural values and going programs also causes analytical difficulties. There is strong question as to how useful it is for "human society . . . to think of the welfare of the whole human race as a practical objective" if all of the thinking and action is in global terms. How much progress can be made, either in the field of analysis or program development, without giving considerable weight to differing social and cultural situations? Actually, of course, the report by no means escapes such considerations once one gets well into it. This is all to the good.

O. V. WELLS.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

Rural Family Life Pattern in Relation to Land Class. A. W. Peterson, Velma Phillips, and Ailsie Stevenson. Wash. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bull. 529, Pullman. 83 pp. Sept. 1951.

This is a report of a series of studies by Hazel M. Cushing and graduate students, under the direction of the Department of Agricultural Economics and the College of Home Economics at Washington State College. This report drew upon unpublished data and methodology from seven Masters' theses, one honor's thesis, and a previous bulletin by the same authors (No. 489 of the Washington Station). Evidence is presented to show that farm family incomes and related problems are different on each economic land-use class; the authors therefore recommend that samples in farm and home management should be stratified and studied in relation to economic land-use class areas, and that teaching materials and methods should differ by economic land-use class.

The land-use class numbers used in the study are the reverse of those of the Cornell scale; as economic productivity decreases, the numbers increase. The data consist of 1,132 farm business records and 338 Family Life Inventory schedules. The latter represent a sample of the former cases, selected to represent the economic land-use classes. The findings agree with those of numerous previous farm management studies, that no other single factor is so important as land class in causing variations in farm family earnings in any one year.

Otis Quick-Scoring Mental Ability Tests were given to approximately 1,800 school children in grades four through eight, and differences in intelligence according to economic land classes were comparatively small.

Father-son agreements for two-family farms were more common on the two higher economic land-use classes (1 and 2). Part-time farms were 39 per cent of all farms in Land Use Class 5 (two and one-half times the percentage for Land Use Class 1).

Nutritional status of the family and level of housekeeping practices headed the list of home management factors that tended to improve as the economic productivity of the land improved. Other home management factors seemed to be more closely related to education and training of the homemaker. In general, the personal and social adjustment of children was best in the most productive land classes. The fam-

ilies on the best land tended to take more trips and attended more movies and dances, but did not exceed those on poorer land classes in such activities as churchgoing, family picnics, games, and Grange participation. In "cultural resources" the families of Land Classes 1 and 2 usually scored higher than those of classes 4 and 5; the economic land-use class appears to be the primary causal factor. However, the study does not completely answer the question of the relationship between the family characteristics and the above-mentioned primary causal factor. The groundwork is laid for discovery and measurement of those additional factors which can be changed to affect most profoundly the well-being of families on each of these economic land-use classes.

Many of the "implications for educational programs," as developed in this study, are indicative of the significance of the above findings for community programs of education and economic development.

What are these additional factors that operate within the various economic land-use classes? This study suggests: (1) education of homemaker; (2) social intelligence of the individual family; (3) stage in the family cycle; (4) distance of the farm from off-the-farm employment opportunities in relation to quality of the road and availability of electricity, water, and other utilities; (5) adaptation of the public educational programs to the realistic opportunities of the families living in each economic land-use class. Once the factor of economic land-use class is adequately recognized, these other factors can be fully recognized and dealt with constructively.

MERTON D. OYLER.

The Ohio State University.

Farm-Operator Family Level-of-Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1930, 1940, 1945, and 1950. Margaret Jarman Hagood. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington. 82 pp. May 1952.

The idea of estimating the level of living for farm-operator families in the counties of the United States at different times is intriguing. Level of living implies the average utilization of material resources as well as some means for purchasing these material benefits. For her estimators of material benefits, Hagood uses the statistics on the percentage of farms with electricity, with telephones, and with automobiles in a given census year. For her estimator of

means, she uses the average value of products sold or traded per farm per county.

Usually the weights to be given the items of an index are based on the judgment of sagacious statisticians. Hagood attempts to avoid judgment by using the method of factor analysis so widely used by psychometricians. Essentially, this is an attempt to find a statistical model to account for the intercorrelations among a set of variables. In this study the four items are intercorrelated for a sample of 196 counties, using data for 1945. The correlation coefficients suggest a high degree of community among the four items, with considerably higher interrelations among the resources items than there are between each of the resources items and the means item. Apparently two factors—means and resources—account for the interrelations.

The principal component for these data suggests that the availability of resources for utilization is being measured. To weight each item, Hagood makes the weights proportional to the relation of each item to the principal component. The highest relation with the principal component was percentage of farms with automobiles; the next was percentage with telephones; and the next-to-lowest was percentage with electricity. Average value of products was least related. The results suggest that the longer the material resource has been available in farm counties, the greater its saturation on the principal component.

The weights based on the 1945 data are then applied to the corresponding data for the years 1930, 1940, 1945, and 1950. The means data, however, are adjusted for the real value of money at each year. It would have been interesting to see if the weights derived from 1945 statistics would have been the same at the other census points. If they had been found to be different, it would have suggested the indeterminacy of weights over time. As the material universe becomes more and more available, more counties will have all of the material resources.

The weights, therefore, in avoiding the bias of judgment, may be introducing the bias of assumed uniformity of relations over time. Despite this minor defect, Hagood deserves commendation for recognizing the value of factor analysis in this area. Psychometricians would have been happier if more variables had been employed, but certainly they must appreciate the adaptation of the method to new areas.

The indexes themselves show the wide acceptance and utilization of the material resources of electricity, telephones, and the

automobile in the period from 1930 to 1950. They give evidence of the basic improvement in the farm operator's ability to buy such comforts.

IRVING LORGE.

Teachers College, Columbia University.

Changes in Farm Population and Rural Life in Four North Dakota Counties. A. H. Anderson. N. D. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 375, Fargo. 38 pp. April 1952.

Since 1930, North Dakota has lost one-third of its farm population. Such an adjustment of population to land resources might be expected to raise living standards; but in a sparsely settled area, it is also likely to put a strain on community facilities. This study is concerned with the effects of such a population decline upon community life. The information presented should be of considerable value to those concerned with achieving a more satisfactory adaptation of community institutions and services to the population base—particularly those who are in areas similar to much of North Dakota, where the rate of population to space is near the critical point beyond which it becomes very difficult to support vital facilities adequately.

Specifically, this study undertakes to portray the extent and nature of decline in farm population of four sample counties during the last two decades; how this loss came about; its effect upon levels of living on the farm; the age of youthful migrants and their destinations; the adaptations made in community life and facilities; and farmers' appraisal of the impact of the loss in farm population upon farm living conditions and rural communities.

Interpretative analysis of the findings is scanty. Public administrators, for whom the bulletin seems principally intended, might wish that the implications for the general problem of adjusting community facilities to a shrinking and sparse population had been more specifically drawn.

There are some limitations in the analysis itself. In certain instances some of the conclusions do not appear to be adequately supported by the data presented. It is unfortunate that the considerable diversity of the sample counties, in characteristics other than those of changes in population, introduces so many additional variables as to leave some question about those effects attributable to population change alone. In some instances it appears that the results are due to the statistical method applied to the data, rather than to inherent differences in the data. For example, in

the tabulation of age of children on leaving home, by present age, the high proportion of those in the 18- to 24-year grouping who left home before 18 years of age is contrasted with the lower proportion in the older age groupings. This, apparently, is without considering the fact that this particular age group has not yet had the opportunity, as have the others, of including those migrating at later ages. The resultant deductions thereby suffer.

WILLIAM S. FOLKMAN.

University of Arkansas.

The Agricultural Labor Problem. O. R. Johnson. Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 563, Columbia. 24 pp. Nov. 1951.

This bulletin contains observations about farm labor conditions in the extensive meat production area of northeast Missouri. While it emphasizes material collected for the years 1949 and 1950, it "... really includes information from farm records and enterprise analyses that have been accumulating for several years." In other words, Professor Johnson has swept out his office.

The sweepings constitute an engaging pile, chiefly because the author makes no pretense of quantifying every aspect of farm employer-employee relations. Instead, he offers a rambling, personalized discourse that reads in places like a letter written home at the end of a long excursion around the countryside. A field survey was made, but this incidental material inhibits the author not one whit; whenever he winds up for a generalization, he lets her fly in the teeth of any stray data that might cross his line of fire. The result is an old-fashioned commentary that harks back to the pre-calculus days of research in the rural social sciences.

Professor Johnson is intrigued with the contrasts between farm and factory work—the one generally performed in a family association, the other on a kind of treadmill of union and management rules. Comments relating to farm-nonfarm competition for labor are woven throughout the findings on the field survey. The latter produced the information that: (a) living accommodations for hired workers vary considerably but are mostly unsatisfactory; (b) custom work, labor exchange with neighbors, and changes in farming systems are being used to replace regular hired labor; (c) wages averaged \$150.91 per month in 1950, including \$50.58 for housing and other perquisites; and (d) the

work day of the laborer averages 10 hours as compared with 11.5 hours for the employer.

Year-round employment arrangements are desirable and necessary. But technology has outrun adjustments in scale and intensity of land use, thereby complicating the adaptation of labor supply to requirements. "The answer," says the author, "seems to lie in one of two directions, joint interest in the year's farming operation or re-designing the farming system to provide year-round employment at commercial wage rates." He favors the latter because it is a "stabilizing procedure." It also means a sharing of investments, rewards, and decision-making.

In view of the deliberate avoidance of areas using migratory labor for this study, the first in a series planned for Missouri, recommended solutions for the other areas should prove interesting. It is safe to predict that something less conventional than a "joint interest" in the product will have to be devised. Experts on the problems of migratory farm labor are in remarkably short supply these days.

JOE R. MOTHERAL.

Texas A. and M. College.

Member Attitude Toward Coöperatives. Gerald E. Korzan. Ore. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 509, Corvallis. 20 pp. Jan. 1952.

The analysis is based on interviews with 192 members of sixteen Oregon farmer coöperatives distributed over the various parts of the state. The sample included between 42 and 51 members from each of four types of coöperatives—purchasing, grain, dairy, and fruit and vegetable processing.

The aspects of the problem investigated by the study include: (1) coöperative activities; (2) members' reaction to management; (3) the coöperatives' information system; (4) opinions concerning member responsibility; (5) general feeling toward coöperation; and (6) principles for ideal coöperative membership.

Among the activities, attendance at annual meetings was rated of major importance by 85 per cent of the sample, yet only 30 per cent attended the last annual meeting. Only seven of the sixteen farmer coöperatives published a newsletter of some sort. Entertainments were reported to be held intermittently, but attendance was irregular.

Managers were rated very high on friendliness and capability, but were criticized chiefly with regard to their role as dis-

penser of price and profit-loss information. The members rated fifteen methods as to their effectiveness as sources of information. The five most important sources were: (1) courteous and efficient employees; (2) financial reports; (3) annual meetings; (4) personal contacts; and (5) field men.

Patronage and loyalty were regarded to be of primary and about equal importance for member responsibility. An understanding of cooperation ranked third. Analysis of members' reason for joining co-operatives indicates clearly an economic motivation—to buy for less or procure a higher net return in selling.

The study concludes with an elaboration of seven principles for successful farmer cooperation. The author fails to make clear whether these principles of "ought to be" are general ideal principles he is expounding or special implications for improvement based on the study just reported.

Studies of this problem should be repeated in various regions of the country to test hypotheses regarding the actual functioning of farmer co-operatives. The findings of this study, in general, indicate more an economic interest in co-operatives than an interest in the development of a way of life based on the philosophy of co-operation.

LAWRENCE L. BOURGEOIS.

Loyola University of the South.

Rural Zoning in the United States. Erling D. Solberg. U. S. D. A. Agr. Information Bull. 59, Washington. 85 pp. Jan. 1952.

This bulletin summarizes in detail the chief rural-zoning powers conferred on local civil governments in the United States, and analyzes the exercise of these powers at the county level. It covers rural-zoning enabling laws through January, 1951, and county-zoning ordinances through May, 1949. It does not examine airport zoning nor zoning within incorporated cities, towns, and villages, as such. The study covers all zoning enabling laws that relate to zoning outside the boundaries of incorporated municipalities—175 enactments. The bulletin is focused on an intensive comparative analysis of the substantive phases of the rural-zoning enabling laws and county zoning ordinances, rather than on procedures for enacting, modifying, or enforcing such regulations. The latter are dealt with only briefly.

The author divided zoning powers and regulations into four major classes: (a) building-dimension zoning; (b) site-area zoning (zoning related to minimum size of lot or tract, proportion of lot or tract to be occupied by structures, set-back from street or road, etc.); (c) density-of-population zoning (in terms of allowable minima or maxima); and (d) use zoning. Thirty-eight states have passed enabling laws which permit designated local units of government to adopt one or more of these classes of zoning regulations. Of the 3,072 counties in the United States, 173, in twenty-three states, had adopted such regulations by 1949.

Though zoning first developed in crowded cities, it is not new to rural areas. Solberg recalls that during the thirties "forestry and recreational zoning districts helped to bring order out of land-use chaos in the cut-over regions of the North Central States." Today the rapidly expanding urban fringe, which may extend 30 to 50 miles beyond city limits, is presenting serious land-use maladjustments. It is here that an extension of wise zoning seems currently most needed.

Though the author tends to avoid value judgments in his review of existing enabling legislation and its application by local governmental units, he makes a case for extended rural zoning in the study's final section, "Present Status and Probable Trends in Rural Zoning." The eight half-to-full-page pictures showing the effects, on the one hand, of failure to apply zoning restrictions, and on the other, of "wise zoning" procedures, further illustrate the potential function which zoning can perform in rural areas.

Rural sociologists should find particularly useful the first two sections (pp. 1-23) in which the development, nature, and scope of rural-zoning enabling legislation is discussed, as well as the section focused on the present status and probable future trends of rural zoning (pp. 42-54). The intervening discussion on county rural-zoning ordinances may be found somewhat tedious reading because of its legalistic detail. The last thirty pages consist of an appendix which presents in tabular form the incidence of various types of zoning ordinances, their restrictions, and the application, along with a legal bibliography of state enabling legislation.

This report is a detailed and extensively documented review of rural-zoning legislation well worthy of the rural sociologist's attention. However, it makes but a pass-

ing attempt at delineating either immediate or long-range effects of rural zoning (or failure to apply it) on rural social organization, or on rural people themselves.

MARVIN J. TAVES.

University of Minnesota.

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NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

University of Alabama. Solon T. Kimball, head of the department, was a member of the teaching staff of the Cornell University anthropological field seminar in Arizona and New Mexico during July and August, 1952.

Bart Landheer, visiting professor of sociology for the past three years, has been appointed director of the Carnegie Library (serving the United Nations), Peace Palace, The Hague, Holland. He will assume his new duties, October 1, 1952.

Marian Pearsall, social anthropologist, will join the staff in September, 1952.

Morris G. Caldwell has contributed a chapter on "Problems of Delinquency and Crime" in *An Introduction to Sociology* (published in August, 1952, by the Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), under the general editorship of James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania.

Bible College of Missouri. After a half century of offering courses in religion to undergraduate students in the University of Missouri, the Bible College of Missouri has established a seminary for training rural ministerial students; a 96-hour Bachelor of Divinity degree will be offered. Students will be expected to demonstrate their capacity to operate a rural church successfully and to fellowship with Christians of all denominations. They must have basic training in technical agriculture before the degree of Bachelor of Divinity is granted.

Mark Rich joined the Bible College faculty, September 1.

University of Ceylon. Bryce Ryan, professor and head of the department, has left for six months' leave, after three-and-a-half years in Ceylon. Ryan has completed the manuscript of a book on the Sinhalese caste system and is working on another manuscript analyzing data obtained in the intensive village study program conducted under the sponsorship of the University of Ceylon and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Murray A. Straus, lecturer in sociology, is conducting field work for a study of child-training practices and child personality in a highland Sinhalese village and in a ward of the city of Colombo. This project is a continuation of a similar project con-

ducted last year in a low-country village. Data from the latter study are now being analyzed.

Ralph Pieris and Stanley J. Tambiah have been appointed assistant lecturers in the department. Pieris is in England for the long vacation, and Tambiah is doing field work for a study of the social organization of a working class area of Colombo. Special attention is being paid in this project to the impact of urbanism on traditional Sinhalese and Tamil family structure.

Clemson College. Virlyn A. Boyd has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of rural sociology and associate rural sociologist.

The University of Connecticut. The following persons have recently joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology:

Elmer Luchterhand, of the University of Wisconsin, has become instructor in sociology in charge of courses in Public Opinion and Minority Groups; Melford Spiro, formerly at Washington University, has joined the staff as assistant professor of anthropology and will develop course work in Culture and Personality; Harold Gunn, who was trained at the London School of Economics and later worked on the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, has been appointed instructor in anthropology. He will teach a section of the introductory course in anthropology and an advanced course in linguistics. Edmund Rudowski, who was trained at Yale University, has been appointed instructor in sociology and anthropology at the Hartford branch of the University of Connecticut.

Robert G. Burnight, assistant professor of rural sociology, was recently awarded the Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. He will continue his research for a study on rural life in Guatemala.

Leo Suslow, doctoral candidate in rural sociology, has been serving as consultant to the Economic Development Commission in Puerto Rico during the past year. He taught the summer of 1952 at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City.

N. L. Whetten was recently awarded a Guggenheim fellowship and spent the sum-

mer months in Guatemala finishing his research for a study on rural life in Guatemala.

Drake University. Willard J. Brandt and D. L. Beran have been working in Clarke County, Iowa, during the past year on a program of rural school supervision. Their work was directed toward the establishment of school-community programs of study and action. A report of the program will be ready for distribution in the fall.

Drew University. Luther P. Powell began teaching the rural church courses in September. He has been appointed assistant professor of practical theology, succeeding Ralph A. Felton who retired from the Chair of Rural Sociology.

Professor Powell formerly taught in the Rural Church Department of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. He has an A.B. degree from Nebraska Wesleyan University and the B.D., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Drew. His doctoral research was concerned with motives and methods of church support.

University of Florida. Carl C. Taylor, chief, Division of Farm Population and Rural life, B.A.E., U.S.D.A., taught a short-course in rural sociology to the agricultural extension workers who were on the campus of the University of Florida from June 16 to July 3.

Harvard University. *Graphic Regional Sociology*, by Carle C. Zimmerman and Richard Du Wors, was published by the Phillips Book Store, Cambridge, Massachusetts, during the summer of 1952. Zimmerman (Harvard) and Du Wors (Bucknell University) have started a long-time project for the study of American regional sociology and its implications. Theoretical essays on the subject are being published in India in a memorial volume to Radhakamal Mukerjee, and in Turkey in the proceedings of the International Institute of Sociology.

The Iliff School of Theology. A graduate-accredited rural-life school has been established. Ray E. Wakeley, professor of rural sociology, Iowa State College, taught a course on Community Organization and Rural Church Survey during the summer session.

The Church Inventory Handbook, by Herbert E. Stotts, has been published by the Wesley Press.

The Sociology Department is starting a study of Protestantism in Montana for the

National Council of Churches, in cooperation with the Montana Council of Churches.

University of Illinois. Ward Bauder, of the University of Kentucky, was visiting professor of rural sociology during the eight weeks' summer session, June 16-August 9. He taught a course in Introductory Rural Sociology and a graduate course in Community Organization.

David E. Lindstrom will leave for Japan on January 1, 1953. He expects to begin work on the faculty of the International Christian University before February. He will direct a project in Rural Community Research in Japan. To initiate this program there is a need for books and bulletins. Those who wish to participate by donating books should send them to Charles A. Pinkham, Church Purchasing and Service Agency, 417 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

E. H. Regnier has been transferred from the Division of Rural Sociology in the Department of Agricultural Economics to the staff of the Director of Agricultural Extension. He is in charge of the Rural Arts and Social Recreation program and is assisted by Richard W. Lawson, a graduate in physical education from Indiana University. Professor Regnier will teach a course in Rural Recreation, offered jointly by the College of Agriculture, Department of Agricultural Economics, and the newly created Department of Recreation in the School of Physical Education. This course will serve an elective need for College of Agriculture and Home Economics students who plan to do extension work, particularly as leaders in 4-H Club and older youth work.

C. L. Folse is cooperating with the research specialists in the Soil Conservation Service in a research project entitled, "A Community Approach to Soil Conservation." A second project, which is a part of the North Central States Regional Population Research Committee, is entitled "Rural and Urban Migration in the Population of Illinois, 1940-1950." Basic tabulations of birth and death data are now complete, and analysis is in progress.

Illinois Wesleyan University. S. C. Ratcliffe, who has been in charge of the Department of Sociology since 1927, has retired. However, he will continue to offer his course Rural Society in summer sessions. Donald Salzman, an alumnus who has been doing graduate work at the University of Chicago for the past three years, has been appointed his successor.

Iowa State College. Ray E. Wakeley has returned from Brazil where he served for six months as advisor to the Brazilian Government in the area of rural affairs, under the program administered by the FAO.

Included in the current research in the department is a project on "Social and Economic Bases of Delinquency and Dependency," by Walter A. Lunden. This is a rural and urban, metropolitan and non-metropolitan study which brings out some significant propositions that would seem to be especially useful in comparative studies. The material will soon be coming off the press.

Joseph B. Gittler's book, *Social Dynamics*, has been published by McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Paul J. Jehlik, social science analyst, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, B.A.E., U.S.D.A., who is stationed at Iowa State College as resident collaborator, was awarded the Ph.D. in rural sociology at the June, 1952, commencement. He is currently engaged jointly with Ray E. Wakeley in completing a research bulletin, "Rural-Urban Migration in Iowa, 1940-1950."

University of Kentucky. Irwin T. Sanders, who two years ago was elected "Distinguished Professor of the Year" by his colleagues in the College of Arts and Sciences, has now been given the permanent rank of Distinguished Professor, by action of the Board of Trustees. Sanders was on leave during the summer, teaching at the University of Wisconsin and gathering further data for his studies of the Balkan peasant, at the Library of Congress in Washington. Beginning in September, he will spend a sabbatical year in Greece and Yugoslavia. There he will continue his work on the Balkans, on appointment as a research associate of the Russian Research Institute of Harvard University.

A revised edition of Sanders' *Making Good Communities Better* will soon be published by the University of Kentucky Press.

Talcott Parsons, of Harvard University, recently spent three days at the university, conferring with the staff and meeting with graduate seminars. His visit was sponsored by the Department of Sociology and the Blazer Lecture Fund.

For the second consecutive summer, a Seminar on Intergroup Relations was held during the summer session. Gordon W. Lovejoy served as director and Frances Tiernan was assistant director. This is the first, and so far the only, seminar of the kind having an interracial student body

and held on the campus of a state university in the South. It is sponsored by the university and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and full university course credit is given.

Ralph J. Ramsey, field agent in rural sociology, taught a summer short-course, "Community Analysis." He has recently completed an evaluation study of the Kentucky Farm and Home Development Program.

C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, as acting president of Phi Beta Kappa, has been handling arrangements for the triennial meeting of the United Chapters, which will be held on the Kentucky campus in September.

James W. Gladden, associate professor of sociology, was a speaker at the annual Farm and Home Week at Clemson College, South Carolina. This is the second consecutive year he has been invited. He was in charge of the annual Family Life Conference held on the Kentucky campus during the summer. He also served as a consultant for the YMCA conference at Blue Ridge, North Carolina.

Joseph H. Jones was appointed community analyst in the Bureau of Community Service, July 1.

James Hughes, instructor in sociology, is continuing his study of narcotic addiction among youth. He is interviewing patients at the U. S. Public Health Service Hospital near Lexington.

The Department of Rural Sociology, in collaboration with the State Department of Health, is conducting a study of infant mortality in Kentucky. Marie Mason is carrying the principal responsibility.

The Bureau of Community Service has recently completed a reconnaissance "profile" study of Paducah, which is undergoing tremendous expansion and change as a result of the Atomic Energy Commission's hydrogen bomb plant now being constructed. James S. Brown, assistant professor of rural sociology, was the leader of this study. The results of this reconnaissance will be used in designing an intensive study of social change in the Paducah area, which it is hoped can be carried out during the next two or three years.

The Department of Sociology and its Bureau of Community Service are collaborating with the Bureau of School Service and an interdisciplinary committee in research on school administration within the context of the total community. This work is partially underwritten by the Kellogg Foundation.

Robert E. Galloway, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, B.A.E., U.S.D.A., has been stationed in the Department of Rural Sociology since fall, 1951. It is expected that he will remain for at least another year, and that he will collaborate with the department on one or more joint research projects.

The Departments of Sociology (College of Arts and Sciences) and Rural Sociology (College of Agriculture and Home Economics) have just completed their first year under a single head, Howard W. Beers. Beers is serving this year as president of the Rural Sociological Society.

Louisiana State University. Fred C. Frey has returned to duties in the Sociology Department after having been retired with emeritus status from his position as dean of the university.

Paul H. Price was promoted, July 1, 1952, to associate professor and associate rural sociologist.

Roland Pellegrin, a recent Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor. His primary field will be Industrial Sociology.

Lycoming College. New courses offered last year by the Department of Town and Country Work were: Rural Leadership, the Rural Community, Concepts of Rural Life, and the Program of the Church. Henry H. Shissler, who is doing graduate work toward the doctorate at the Pennsylvania State College, is director of the department.

University of Maryland. Wayne Rohrer, assistant professor of sociology, has been added to the staff. He will divide his efforts between research and extension in rural sociology. Rohrer has recently been engaged in research in rural sociology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College. Formerly, he was research assistant on the Farm Foundation Health Project and instructor on the study of Adult Education in Rural Areas sponsored by the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation.

Harold Hoffsommer offered a course in the Rural Community at the Interdenominational School for Rural Leaders during the first term of the 1952 Garrett Biblical Institute Summer School at Evanston, Illinois.

Michigan State College. The National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Public Health Service has made a grant of \$23,463 to the Social Research

Service for a continuation of the research on Strengths in Mental Health. Following are the committee members working on this project: Duane Gibson, Robert Hicks, Charles P. Loomis, Joe D. Mills, Raymond Scheele, Gregory Stone, William Thomas, John Useem, Ruth Useem, and Chandler Washburne.

Charles P. Loomis served as member of a panel on Promotion of Health, for the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation.

The sixth annual Rural Leadership School was conducted, July 7-18, on the Michigan State College campus. The school is designed as a short-course for rural pastors, lay leaders of the church, and farm organization representatives. Sponsored jointly by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Continuing Education Service, the school offers a three-year program of two-week courses in skill training, and seminars on current social, economic, and political problems. Alfred Bartholomew of Lancaster Seminary was guest lecturer, and Paul A. Miller served as chairman.

The Social Research Service has recently received a grant of \$2,000 from the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to study the dynamics of prejudice toward minority groups among high-school youth. This study is designed to determine the extent and direction of the changes in attitudes since a previous study for the same sponsoring organizations in 1949. It will also test certain hypotheses concerning the factors associated with these changes. Members of the committee in charge of this project are: W. B. Brookover (chairman), Dean Epley, John Holland, Charles P. Loomis, Milton Rokeach (psychology), and Gregory Stone.

Emilio Willems, Vanderbilt University, and Hiram J. Friedsam, North Texas State College, were visiting professors in the summer session.

The 14th annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society was held at Michigan State College, April 25-26. The Midwest group of the Society for Applied Anthropology was co-sponsor of the meeting.

University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch. John H. Mabry has accepted a position in the Department of Sociology. He will teach the courses in Rural Sociology and Population.

Mississippi State College and University of Mississippi. An integrated program of

graduate teaching and research is now being formulated between the Department of Sociology and Rural Life at State College and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University. A joint staff meeting each semester has been one of the several activities carried on by the two departments during the past four years.

The departments are participating jointly in the Southern Regional Committee on Community Study, together with representatives of the Tennessee Valley Authority and several other southern universities. Harold F. Kaufman and Julien R. Tatum attended the committee's workshop in Atlanta, June 26-27, where research and training plans were formulated. Kaufman, as secretary of the committee, had the responsibility of organizing the workshop and preparing the report of the proceedings.

Morton B. King, Jr., chairman of the department at the university, visited the University of Michigan during the summer. He was engaged in post-doctoral study, primarily of the interdependencies and structural relationships among rural communities and the metropolitan centers to which they are related.

Alfred C. Schnur, of the University, devoted part of the summer to completing his study of the Mississippi State Penitentiary.

Robert L. Rands, who holds a Columbia University Ph.D. in anthropology, succeeds William G. Haag who resigned from the university to accept a position at Louisiana State University. Professor Rands will offer courses in ethnography and ethnology and continue the research in Mississippi archaeology begun by Professor Haag. In his research he will be assisted by Mrs. Rands, trained in archaeology at the University of New Mexico.

Joseph S. Vandiver, associate professor at Oklahoma A. & M., was a visiting lecturer in the second summer term at State College. He taught classes in Introductory Sociology and Social Anthropology.

Raymond Payne, Ph.D., Cornell, 1951, joined the State College staff, August 1, as assistant professor. He is working on the community organization project in the Experiment Station and is also engaged in research of the Regional Committee on Community Study.

Marion T. Loftin, assistant professor at the State College, received his Ph.D. at Vanderbilt in June. His thesis was entitled, "The Japanese in Brazil: A Study in Immigration and Acculturation."

Harold F. Kaufman was a visiting lecturer at Emory University for the period July 28 through August 14. He taught in the eighth annual Town and Country School sponsored by that institution.

William P. Carter participated in the Marriage Counseling Workshop held in Los Angeles, August 4 to 16, under the direction of Paul Popenoe, and sponsored by the American Institute of Family Relations. Carter was elected first vice-president of the Mississippi Council on Family Relations and has served on the Executive Committee of the Southwestern Council on Family Relations.

Dorris Rivers, State College, has been appointed to the Advisory Council of the Mississippi Children's Code Commission. He is a member of the Community Development Committee of the commission.

University of Nebraska. The courses offered in rural sociology are now being taught by Otto G. Hoiberg, associate professor of sociology and supervisor of the Community Service Program in the Extension Division. Until last fall, this work was taught by John P. Johansen, who resigned to accept a position at South Dakota State College. Professor Hoiberg devotes one-fourth of his time to teaching and the balance to community organization and consultation work in rural communities throughout Nebraska.

University of North Carolina. Howard W. Odum, with two other professors and eleven students, was "tapped" on April 28, 1952, by the Order of the Golden Fleece, a campus-wide student organization honoring men who have contributed notably to the life of the university at Chapel Hill.

Katharine Jocher was elected president of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, for 1952-1953, at the annual meeting in Charlotte, April 6-8.

Rupert B. Vance was president of the Population Association of America for the year 1951-1952. His presidential address—"Is Theory for Demographers?"—was given at the annual meeting in Princeton, New Jersey, April 19, 1952. Vance taught at Harvard University in July and August, 1952.

Daniel O. Price was elected to the Board of Directors of the Population Association of America at the recent meeting in Princeton.

E. William Noland spent a major part of the summer at Dartmouth College as a member of a small group working on the preparation of problem and source materials for the mathematical training of so-

cial scientists. The project is sponsored by the Social Science Research Council.

Joffre L. Coe, on leave of absence for the academic year 1952-1953, will resume his graduate program in anthropology at the University of Michigan. John E. Heimnick will carry on Coe's duties in archaeology and anthropology. Heimnick comes from the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology.

Harold D. Meyer, specialist in recreation leadership training, conducted a Recreation Workshop at the University of Colorado during their second summer session, 1952.

Lee M. Brooks is serving as consultant for the Save the Children Federation in their program related to rural schools.

Ohio State University. A. R. Mangus is on leave for another year at the University of California at Berkeley, directing research in mental health, under the auspices of the State Department of Mental Hygiene.

James E. White has resigned to join the staff of the Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D. C.

Community Service Guide has replaced the *Farmers' Institute Annual Announcement*, published regularly since 1890. Guides for community public affairs forums and study for action in specific community service fields are featured.

Oklahoma A. & M. College. Paul B. Foreman was employed for the summer by O. R. O. at Bethesda, Maryland.

Roger Nettis was an analyst for the Standard Oil Company during the summer in a program of employee-employer relations.

Oregon State College. Hans H. Plambeck, associate professor, has been awarded a Fulbright grant to do rural sociology research in New Zealand during 1952-53. He and members of his family left Vancouver, B.C., for Auckland, New Zealand, on June 17, 1952.

Tilman Cantrell, who did his undergraduate and graduate work at the University of Texas, is teaching courses during Plambeck's absence.

Robert H. Dann, professor of sociology, spent the summer in England. Members of his family accompanied him.

Frank L. Parks, associate professor and head counselor for the Division of Liberal Arts, was visiting professor in the School of Education, University of Colorado, during the summer of 1952.

The Pennsylvania State College. William M. Smith, Jr. served as a consultant at a

Workshop on The Family in a Defense Decade, at Teachers College, Columbia University, July 7 to 25.

Joseph H. Britton has been appointed associate professor of family relationships. During the summer, he and Professor Smith completed field work on a study of three-generation families in a Pennsylvania rural community.

University of Puerto Rico. The Social Science Research Center is conducting two projects on the Puerto Rican family. David Landy has completed field work on a child-rearing study in a small village. J. May-one Stykos has completed a field study of seventy-two families to determine the relations between family patterns and fertility. Reports will be completed by the end of 1952.

Purdue University. During the five years of operation of a graduate program in sociology, twenty-six degrees have been granted at Purdue. Sverre Lysgaard, who was granted the first Ph.D. degree, has returned to his home in Oslo, Norway.

University of Tennessee. William E. Cole has been commissioned by the National Protestant Council on Higher Education to edit a book showing ways that town and city churches can hold their congregations despite the population movement to fringe and suburban areas.

Texas A. and M. College. Samuel W. Blizzard, associate professor of sociology and rural sociology at the Pennsylvania State College, was a visiting lecturer at the seventh annual Rural Church Conference, June 30-July 2, 1952.

Texas Lutheran College. *The Church as a Vehicle of Community Values in a Changing Rural Economy*, by Bernard C. Baumbach, has been published by the Division of American Missions, National Lutheran Council, Chicago, Illinois. This monograph reports a research study on a group of Lutheran churches in the blackland farming area of Texas.

Tuskegee Institute. The Rural Life Council has received a two-year grant from the National Institute of Health to conduct a study of "The Development of Health Practices in Rural Communities." The purpose of this study is to develop principles of health education that are applicable to programs in small southern rural communities.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Leland B. Tate has been elected president of the Southern Sociological Society for 1952-1953.

The 23rd annual Summer School for Rural Ministers, held under the auspices of the Virginia Agricultural Extension Service and the Rural Church Department of the Virginia Council of Churches, attracted an attendance of approximately a hundred ministers and wives representing ten different denominations. Principal lecturers were Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky; John D. Freeman, Baptist rural churchman from Lakeland, Florida; Earl Brewer, Emory University; Paul Sanders, editor of the *Southern Planter*; and W. E. Garnett, V.P.I.

University of Washington. Calvin Schmid taught at the University of Southern California during the summer session.

George A. Lundberg spent the spring quarter in Japan on a research assignment for the United States Air Force.

Washington State College. Herman M. Case has joined the staff for the coming year, as acting assistant rural sociologist. In June, he received the Ph.D. degree from Washington State College.

Westminster Theological Seminary, Westminster, Maryland. John Baxter Howes, professor of rural church, was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*, by Union College, May 27. He was cited for his "distinguished ministry to rural people." Howes is the author of a regular column appearing in the Methodist weekly *Zion's Herald*, under the title "Rural Firebreaks and Backfires."

Winthrop College. Robert K. Hirzel has joined the staff as assistant professor of

sociology. He has completed two years of graduate work at Louisiana State University after receiving his Master's degree from the Pennsylvania State College.

University of Wisconsin. During the summer session, W. H. Sewell was a visiting professor at Columbia University.

Douglas G. Marshall, formerly of the University of Minnesota, and Eugene A. Wilkening, formerly of North Carolina State College, have joined the staff.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

Save the Children Federation. William B. Jones, Jr., professor of sociology at the University of Tennessee, has been appointed national program director of the federation. Jones, who has been granted a year's leave of absence by the university, assumed his duties as program director on June 1. He will make Knoxville his headquarters.

LOUIS WIRTH (1897-1952)

The Rural Sociological Society notes with deep regret the death of Louis Wirth, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, on May 3, 1952. Although Professor Wirth was not a member of the Rural Society, his work in urban sociology complemented the research of rural sociologists. He gave one of the principal papers at the annual meeting of the Society in Chicago, last September. His discussion and evaluation of the rural-urban dichotomy was received with considerable interest. The editors of *Rural Sociology* had hoped to publish a revised version of the paper, but have learned that the author had not completed his revision at the time of his death.

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